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As Americans, members of the Slovak League of America firmly believe that the Slovak nation, just as all nations, has an inherent and God-given right to freedom and independence. They are dedicated to the cause of the American way of life, Slovak freedom and world peace and are determined to oppose the plague of Communism and all other totalitarian political systems.

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THE FIRST PRESIDENT OF THE SLOVAK REPUBLIC

Dr. Joseph Cieker

From the very beginning of its history the Slovak nation endeavored to attain a full national and political life. From the standpoint of history, the substance of the development of the Slovaks has not changed. Not all nations developed in the same manner. Many nations lived in such an environment and under such conditions that their normal life was not hindered by serious obstacles and they could, therefore, develop to state and national perfection more rapidly than the nations which, on the road of their development, met with many obstacles — some of which were insurmountable.

More than one nation spent its blood in wars and disappeared from the history of Europe. We Slovaks, too, frequently found ourselves exhausted by wars, and at times it appeared to us we might not be strong enough to overcome the obstacles thrust in our path by foreigners and also renegades from our own ranks. Despite the extreme material and biological losses, the Slovak nation, nevertheless, successfully won a place of equality among the nations of Europe and the world and proved its maturity in its own independent Slovak State.

In the development of the Slovak nation, there existed a constant continuity even though many failed to see it and some even denied it. Loyal Slovak sons, who were entrusted with the responsible task of leadership in Slovak national and political life, believed in this continuity of the Slovak spirit which glistened so brightly in real expression on the throne of the first Slovak rulers and then on the chair of the first President of the Slovak Republic.

The elderly Archbishop of Nitra, Dr. Charles Kmeťko, gave testimony of this continuity of the historical evolution of the Slovak nation when, looking at President Dr. Joseph Tiso in the Bratislava National Court, he said: "This man was, after Svätopluk, our second head." Austrian emperors and Hungarian kings were not "our heads" or rulers because of the free will of the Slovak nation. But neither was T. G. Masaryk, nor Dr. Edward Beneš; nor is Clement Gottwald the "head" of the Slovak nation. From the standpoint of this historical continuity, "our head" can be, and shall be able to be, only the man who shall be placed on the empty chair of the president of the Slovak Republic by the will of the people and in the intent of the national and Christian traditions of the Slovak people.

How extremely difficult was the road travelled by the Slovak nation — from the times of Svätopluk all the way to Dr. Joseph Tiso — was clearly demonstrated when counter forces tried to destroy the work of the Slovak spirit, especially when they removed in criminal fashion the representatives and living expressions of the Slovak will from the leadership of Slovak national and political life. The more concrete the form of realizing Slovak aims, the more cruelly all alien and anti-Slovak forces intervened. That is why the work of the Slovak State, when it proved itself to be on a European and world level, evoked so much concentrated criminality and revenge from the enemies of Slovak independence, the likes of which not a single civilized and cultured nation had ever seen.

The anti-Slovak forces were symbolized by one of the most despicable phenomena of the Czech nation and of contemporary European history, Dr. Edward Beneš. Knowing that they could not be able to destroy the blessed achievements of Slovak victory — the Slovak Republic — they did not hesitate to ask the help of the criminal forces of the anti-European and anti-Christian conspiracy which was organized and led by the Kremlin.

At the moment of the historical duel, there remained on the side of the Slovak Republic only the faithful Slovak race and its sons, who were determined and prepared to die as martyrs for the rights of the Slovak nation. Against the Slovak Republic was the world public, which had been charmed by the falsehoods and frauds of Dr. Edward Beneš. Thirsting for Slovak blood, designated with Cain's mark on their foreheads, armed with all the means of Soviet justice and protected by the military, political and police might of the Soviet Union, the wards of Dr. Edward Beneš—of Czech and Slovak origin—set out with a vengeance against the loyal sons of the Slovak nation who were armed only with prayerbooks and the legal code of the Christian world-outlook.

At the same time few people in Europe and in the world comprehended the extent of the treason, the victim of which was the Christian Slovak nation and the legal expression of its will — the Slovak State. Very few people in Europe and in the world realized the immensity of the treason of Dr. Edward Beneš, his Czech political companions and the individuals of Slovak origin who had united with them in crime. This anti-Slovak conspiracy, which was the beginning of the anti-European and anti-Christian conspiracy of international Communism, was determined to destroy the Slovak Republic, the expression of right and justice. But the means valid up to that time did not suffice for the conspirators, so they acted according to the new laws, which were created by the philosophy of violence and Communist crime. To destroy the Slovak State, this conspiratorial, anti-Slovak association needed the entire apparatus of terror which was used and legalized by the Soviet system.

The Slovak nation succumbed to this violence and temporarily was deprived of its own State. "After Svätopluk our second head" — the President of the Slovak Republic, Dr. Joseph Tiso — was indicted, tried, convicted and executed according to the manner of the Communist system. Fully aware of this historical crime and with the consent of his own Government and full co-responsibility of his own executive organs on the territory of the Slovak State, which according to their own admission "ruled themselves," Dr. Edward Beneš intervened in the bloodiest manner in this historical development of the Slovak nation, thereby definitely intending to sever the indestructible continuity of the Slovak spirit.

On this historical background, there comes before the eyes of the contemporary Slovak generation and the eyes of contemporary Europe and the world the human and political profile of the President of the Slovak Republic, Joseph Tiso. From the Slovak viewpoint, as well as that of universal history, the greatness of his martyr's death has attained such a degree, that it has placed the figure of Joseph Tiso among the bravest, the noblest and morally perfect expressions of human effort for good, for justice, and for right and freedom. His phy-

sical appearance is today crowned with a legendary halo, which to date no member of the Slovak nation has attained. Every Slovak son and daughter was acquainted with Tiso, because Tiso as priest, as politician, as man, and even as president, was in daily contact with Slovak life. And though the martyr's death has enhanced the political and human profile of Joseph Tiso over any other, as well as the degree of perfection of the Slovak spirit attained from a moral, religious, national, political and world viewpoint, his immortal and live presence has become the most substantial part of the thinking of the Slovak man today and shall be a constant stimulator of his spirit.

The more tragic and dark the background from which appears the clean and bright phenomenon of the personality of Joseph Tiso, the more impassable the abyss between the Slovak nation and the conspirators against its freedom. The martyr's death of Joseph Tiso and its glorification cannot be and shall not be separated from this background, in which — in a union sealed with a treaty of treason, blood and crime — moves about and shall eternally appear the repulsive face of Dr. Edward Beneš, marked with the spittle of revenge, on which no artist and no propaganda procedure shall be able to elicit a smile of a clean conscience. On this historical background, worthy of Dante's inferno, in an equal moral ugliness shall eternally find themselves the individuals, who considered it an honor to besmirch their consciences with the blood of Slovak sons and whose only victory is the temporary destruction of Slovak independence. These men, being branded with the mark of Communism, have followed their master, Edward Beneš, on the stage of Slovak tragedy.

The present Slovak tragedy has attained such dimensions that not only the intellectual groups of a Slovak generation, but even the whole Slovak nation collectively have been affected by it. Never before in the history of the Slovak people did it happen that every Slovak man, woman and child were the living participants of the moral and material destruction caused by the conspirators against Slovak statehood. Even if we can comprehend the revenge of Edward Beneš and his Czech companions on the Slovak Nation as an intervention of negative forces in the Divine plans, we cannot understand, and so much the less excuse, the active participation in it of the individuals of Slovak origin, who rendered service to aliens and conspired against the life of the nation they are descended from. The terrible contrast between the reality of the Slovak State and the "acquisitions of the glorious national insurrection," which was inspired by foreign interests, led by Slovak renegades and climaxed by total communistic terror is, and forever shall be, the final sketcher of the political and human profile of the personifier of Slovak State independence, Joseph Tiso, and the moral and political degeneracy of those who are in a full measure responsible for the present servile position of the Slovak nation.

From the viewpoint of historical perspective, not only the Slovak nation, but even the whole world sees today the immensity of the sacrifice of a son, loyal to God and nation, was able to make and, on the other hand, the immensity of the treason and the consequences emanating from the guilt of those who, silencing within themselves the outcry of conscience, rejected from their decisions and acts the law of God and the law of the nation.

To make the human and political profile of the president of the Slovak Republic more expressive, no Slovak needs any synthetic beautifying mediums, because his physical and spiritual features were the work of the Hands of God and the healthy, religious environment of the Slovak nation. On this face glowed the fire of the servant of God and nation to the very last moment of his earthly life. Joseph Tiso was not a complicated, but a clear, clean and transparent phenomenon; just as uncomplicated, clear, clean and transparent as has been the natural character of the Slovak person for generations. Slovak history will not have to search for reasons for the legal connection of the Slovak acts, which form a segment of the life of the Slovak State, because these acts were explained by the crystal-clear deeds of President Tiso himself.

On August 16, 1938, when Joseph Tiso was parting with the deceased Andrew Hlinka on the Ružomberok Square in the name of the whole Slovak nation, his words sounded like the eternal voice of the Slovak spirit, which when silenced on the lips of one, are heard by the living nation on the lips of another. This uninterrupted thread of Slovak evolution was handed over to Joseph Tiso by Andrew Hlinka. "Never was Andrew Hlinka so great in life, as his death has shown him to be," said Tiso over the casket of the spiritual sovereign of the Slovak people.

"Andrew Hlinka was great during his lifetime, because he dedicated his life to a great idea—and he appeared great at death, because his death, attesting faithful service to his great idea to the very end, places him in the gallery of the spiritual heroes of the Slovak nation. The idea of an independent Slovak nation was the source of his boundless love for the Slovak nation, which led and took on high the life of Andrew Hlinka. As a result of his being elevated to the priesthood of the New Testament, his love for his people received a special blessing and intensity: by becoming a servant of Christ, he became the servant of a grandiose idea — which in relation to patriotism meant that he became the servant of an idea, offering himself and all his possessions on the altar of that same idea.

"Hlinka, priest and patriot, lived in the deep conviction that he was not serving a trivial idea, a superficial thing, but a cause that had deep roots in a 1000-year-old past and in the Christian order of the life of his nation in the present. In this higher consecration, his patriotism did not mean only personal fancy and momentary satisfaction, but it meant dedicating and sacrificing his whole being — constantly and unreservedly, unceasingly and tirelessly — because even in his patriotism he felt that he was a priest of God who was making a sacrifice — a full-time and lifetime sacrifice in the sense of his full-time and lifetime priestly character. That is why his work for his Slovak people was a fight — not a struggle for power and glory, but a sacred fight always in the defense of the most sacred values, so dear to all members of our nation: our national rights, political rights, cultural and economic rights. As it behooves a person dedicated to the service of an idea, his fight was an ideological fight. The great idea of a Divine Order was connected with the idea of a distinct Slovak nation to feed the two-winged flame which filled his mind and his heart and governed his whole life. Ideally inflamed, Hlinka waged this sacred fight under difficult circumstances; he

fought against overwhelming odds. Yet never did he retreat from anyone or anything, because he did not doubt the naturalness of the right of his own people to its own life; and he believed in the future of his nation, because it held fast to the space allotted it by God in the family of other nations. He bore within himself the conviction of a chosen leader of his people with whom he lived in the most intimate union, along with whom he fought in the land of the Pharaohs, and whom he was to lead into the promised land."

It was thus that Tiso described the political and human profile of Andrew Hlinka. And in this profile of the spiritual sovereign of the Slovak nation, Andrew Hlinka, in substance were also found all the traits of the human and political features of Joseph Tiso. The physical person was not the same, but what was substantial, spiritual and eternal remained — as proof of the continuity of Slovak life. All the characteristics which adorned the priestly and political personality of Andrew Hlinka, also adorned his successor in the management of the destinies of the Slovak people, Dr. Joseph Tiso. Service to God and nation, however, exacted from Joseph Tiso the maximum that a person possibly could give. What Joseph Tiso said at the final parting with Andrew Hlinka was not only so many beautiful words, but a great and heroic act, which attained its perfect expression in the existence of the Slovak Republic during his presidency — one that was confirmed before the Slovak nation and before the whole cultured and civilized world with his martyr's death.

We can thank Divine Providence and the living continuity of the Slovak spirit that during the most decisive phase of Slovak and world history, the Slovak nation decided of its own free will to place in the chair of Svätopluk a man of the people who carried in his heart and soul the spark of consecration which was given the Slovak nation as a dowry at the dawn of its history. That is why the political and human work of Joseph Tiso attained such a moral and historical value, the value of which will be recognized even if only one member of the Slovak nation remains on earth.

Joseph Tiso did not get on the throne of Slovak rulers by the coincidence of subordinate circumstances, because even the realization of state independence was not the result of an accident. Just as state independence was the ripe fruit on the tree of life of Slovak generations, just so its visible head was the mature offspring of Slovak ideological, moral and spiritual development. Even if Joseph Tiso personally as a man would not have wanted to be the president of the Slovak Republic, he simply had to be, because at the time of the proclamation of Slovak independence he was the acknowledged ruler of the collective will of the Slovak people. Just as Tiso did not seek the office of president as man and priest, just so he hearkened to the voice of the Slovak genie and accepted the presidency from the qualified representatives of the nation as a supreme obligation — a duty which he performed faithfully and well to the very last moment of his life..

If Joseph Tiso devoted himself to the national service of the Slovak cause, then he did so in full responsibility of his historic mission. That is why he did not hesitate even for a moment in the face of seduction and violence. The president of the Slovak Republic could not recant or even betray anything. That is why Joseph Tiso, after

accepting the office of president with so much self-immolation, stirred the whole Slovak nation into a building effort; that is why he defended before a non-Slovak court the work of the Slovak Republic with such dignity; and that is why, being fully aware that he performed his duties as well as he could, Tiso could bless his faithful people even from the shadow of the gallows.

The human accomplishments of the president of the Slovak Republic were destined not only by his priestly character, but also by the whole character of a son of the Slovak nation, who never strayed from Slovak and Christian traditions. No matter how hard the non-Slovak and non-Christian court tried, it could not prove that Joseph Tiso was guilty of acts that ran counter to natural and Slovak laws, or were contrary to moral law. That is why the Slovak nation regarded the conviction and execution of Joseph Tiso as a deliberate, premeditated and executed crime. And it shall regard it so for all time.

The political work of the President of the Slovak Republic, serving the welfare of the entire Slovak nation, created such conditions for the Slovak nation so that it could within the framework of its state boundaries prove its capability to live and so that in its international relationship it could gain recognition.

Joseph Tiso, placed on the throne of an independent Slovak ruler, did not play the politics of Moscow, Berlin, Budapest, Paris, London, or Washington, but worked the policy of Bratislava, the capital city of the independent State of Slovakia. He worked that policy under the given political, geographical and international circumstances; and he had to work it in such a way so that the interests of the Slovak nation and its State were safeguarded as well as possible in this play of opposing forces. Joseph Tiso could not conspire against the work of Slovak history and, therefore, no other conception except the purely Slovak and state conception could be acceptable for him as well as the entire Slovak nation. He did not regard the existence of the Slovak State as a debatable question. Just as the Slovak nation existed, so the Slovak State also had to exist.

This standpoint — which was not only his, but the whole Slovak nation's as well — was incompatible with the view held by Dr. Edward Beneš and dictated by him to his lackeys — the renegades of Slovak descent on the territory of the Slovak State — first from London, then from Moscow and finally from Prague.

Joseph Tiso was so deeply convinced about the propriety of his decisions as President that he did not hesitate to state before the non-Slovak and non-Christian court which was trying him: "If in the future it were given to me to concern myself with politics, under such circumstances as obtained in 1919—1945, I would follow the same policies that I did at that time."

Looking over the picture of the human and political profile of the first President of the Slovak Republic, who already today appears in the halo of a martyr in the eyes of Europe and the world, we cannot help but be convinced that Joseph Tiso preceded the development of European and universal realities of today, so that he could indicate the return of those eternal, moral and political values, which in today's change of the world order have, as it were, temporarily given place and reign to the forces of the human periphery

which is guided by the law of the jungle. His profile appears on the background of this shocking tragedy, which is not only national, but European as well. The Christian and national values, which Joseph Tiso personified in a form thus far unattained by any Slovak, were and are being torn out of the body of the Slovak nation, and in their place was and is being forced the criminal philosophy and morality of Godless Communism. On the European and world stage the equilibrium of moral and political order was violated, and the declared and proven criminality of Communism was accepted as the equivalent component of the human struggle for a better tomorrow. Using such un-Christian and unhistorical yardsticks, the human and political profile of the President of the Slovak Republic was regarded as something that does not fall into the accepted norms of chaos, which was the result of the aggressiveness and perfidiousness of the Communistic system and of the cowardice and appeasement of a world, which, of course, did say that it is living in Christian and democratic forms, but was in fact, willing to lend itself to a suicidal experiment in an alliance with Communism.

That is why the voice of Joseph Tiso was silenced — the voice which defended truth and Christian morality, the freedom of the Slovak people and its State; the voice that cried out against Communism and for European and Christian culture. During the reign of political and moral chaos, which was installed totally in Slovakia and partially in the rest of Europe, the voice of the just confessor of universal moral principles was a voice crying in the wilderness. At that time the criminal morality of the non-Slovak and non-Christian court in Bratislava was accepted as the normal form of justice. It took a long time for the West to become satiated with this unnatural concubinage with the Soviet system and finally decide to defend what Communism did not as yet have time to conquer.

Edward Beneš, his people and the renegades of Slovak origin joined with them, taking advantage of the moral and political chaos of the world and using the norms of communistic lies and deception, wanted to present the political and human profile of Joseph Tiso in such a way as to evoke aversion. They succeeded in this, but only temporarily. As long as the world accepted Stalin as the representative of the most perfect democracy, while Dimitrov was a model of nobility, as long as Tito was an angel of justice, while Rákosi was recognized as a norm of tolerance, as long as Anna Pauker, Palmiro Togliatti, Maurice Thorez and William Pieck were the hope of European brotherhood, and while Edward Beneš, Clement Gottwald and their companions qualified as builders of the bridge between the West and the East — the President of the Slovak Republic, Dr. Joseph Tiso, was a phenomenon who simply did not belong in Europe. And Joseph Tiso and the Slovak nation did not want a martyr for the faith of Christ, for a Christian and just Europe and for the Slovak Republic to belong to the gallery of these representatives of derailed Europe.

The unreal conception about the possibility of normal cohabitation of two irreconcilable world outlooks — the Communist and the Christian — was built on deception and violence, on the basis of a philosophy of falsehood and crime, on cowardice and apostasy. On the basis of this unnatural conception, it was allowed, with the concurrence of the cultured and civilized world, to lead the head of the

Slovak State to the gallows despite the fact that he was a priest of the Catholic Church who never violated Her doctrines or Her laws; and despite the fact that Tiso was a man of spotless life and a patriot of the highest level; and despite the fact that Tiso was the freely and democratically elected head of a recognized and orderly European State.

Over Joseph Tiso, under whose government no one was executed, the verdict of death was dictated by Edward Beneš, a foreigner by blood and spirit in the eyes of the Slovaks, who perpetrated so much damage on Slovak life and property that as long as a Slovak shall be a Slovak, the mere mention of Beneš's name will always inspire moral repugnance and eternal condemnation.

Joseph Tiso — who conducted himself in accordance to the existing constitutional and controlling institutions, as well as the highest authority of God, that Divine Law and Catholic doctrine which he professed and upheld from childhood all the way up to the gallows — was tried and convicted by Edward Beneš who — even though he had at hand a "freely" elected parliament ready to do his vengeful bidding — listened to and was guided by no one except Stalin and himself. Beneš listened only to himself and his own voice, which was singularly full of hatred for everything Slovak, and obeyed an un-Christian and undemocratic instinct, which in the last years of his life, was centered entirely against the freedom and state independence of the Slovak nation.

Individuals devoid of all morals wanted to teach the gospel to a noble, Catholic priest; wealthy and corrupt men lectured him about Christian sociology; Godless and faithless people with catechisms in their bloody hands tried him; the destroyers and plunderers of the national wealth of the Slovak people tried to show him how he should have defended Slovakia; the perpetrators of communist terror dared to speak about principles of Democracy and Christianity; cowards, who never had the courage to raise their voices in defense of Slovak interests, were presented to him as models of heroism; the allies of Communism told him about the "acquisition of the glorious insurrections;" traitors of the Slovak race tried to teach him patriotism; the grave diggers of Slovak independence tried to convince him of the advantages of subordination of the Slovak nation within the framework of cohabitation with the Czechs.

On such negative principles, drawn from Communist doctrines, they created the profile of Joseph Tiso. In the conflict with this political and moral underworld, which occupied the land of the Slovaks and also prepared to enthrone its own government and its own principles in the rest of Europe, Joseph Tiso stood there before the Communist tribunal as a milestone on the threshold of two ages.

The gallows erected in the courtyard of the Bratislava prison, on which the great Slovak, Christian, European heart of the first President of the Slovak Republic ceased beating — that is the symbol of the conflict for which Communism and its allies were preparing. It is the symbol of the determination shown by a man of European and world outlook, who foresaw not only the extent of his own sacrifice, but also its moral importance at a time, when Europe and the world — returning to the traditional Christian norms — would

weigh justly the moral and political values not only of individuals, but also of nations.

Looking at the human and political profile of the President of the Slovak Republic from this historical vantage point, it can be said that the Slovak nation, which succumbed in the brutal conflict for its own statehood in the Europe of yesterday and today — in which Beneš, and the Communist and pro-Communist alliance helping him, had all the say about Slovakia — shall win its just fight for the renewal of Slovak statehood in the Europe of tomorrow, where people of determination, goodness, noblesse, Christian morality — like Joseph Tiso — will appear on the stage of European history.

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WHAT THEY SAID ABOUT TISO

"The execution of Msgr. Joseph Tiso was a judicial murder and it is also a political murder. One can criticize the politics of the late Msgr. Joseph Tiso, disagree with it and fight against it with all of one's strength, but, according to my deep conviction, a man should not be murdered for his political activity which was in accord with the conviction of his nation and for which he had a motive in the development of political events during the first and second Czecho-Slovak Republics and in the course followed by its presidents and governments. It is a down-right travesty of justice that a Slovak, elected President of the Slovak Republic by a majority of the Slovak nation, be executed by the government of a self-appointed president of the present 'Czechoslovak Republic,' who, according to the laws of the First Republic, himself should first be tried and condemned." — Karel Lochner, former Czecho-Slovak Consul, London, England, April 1947.

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"American Slovak Catholic women were horrified at the ignominious death of Monsignor Joseph Tiso. Greatly resent the ignoring of our plea and petition sent by cablegram to President Edward Beneš and others from our Annual Board Meeting held February 27, 1947, at Bridgeport, Connecticut, in behalf of our entire membership of 75,000 women and children. The wrath of the entire membership centers itself upon the leaders of the Czecho-Slovak Republic. We hail Monsignor Tiso as a martyr, dying for the cause of his people." — Susan Matuscak, Secretary First Catholic Slovak Ladies Union, Cleveland, Ohio.

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"The Czech government of president Edward Beneš sacrificed an opportunity of easing the tension between the Czechs and the Slovaks when it executed the Rev. Joseph Tiso." — Osservatore Romano, Vatican City, Italy.

• • •

"The execution of Dr. Joseph Tiso, who loved his people and served them conscientiously throughout his life, will undoubtedly inspire thousands of his brethren to continue the fight for the inherent and God-given rights of the Slovak nation." — John Sabol, Secretary First Catholic Slovak Union, Cleveland, Ohio.

THE TRADITION OF SLOVAK STATEHOOD

Marian Žiar

In the contemporary great conflict of the free world against the ideology and forceful aggression of Communism, we look upon the tradition of Slovak statehood from two viewpoints. It is from these two viewpoints that our fight against Communism and for the renewal of Slovak statehood is waged.

The Slovak nation at home and the great majority of Slovak exiles in the free world reject not only the Communist regime in Czecho-Slovakia, installed by and serving Moscow, but also the anti-Slovak ideology of ethnical and political "Czechoslovakism," the standard-bearers of which are the very Czecho-Slovak politicians in exile, who installed the violent "people's democratic" regime in Slovakia after 1945 and in 1948 cowardly surrendered power to the Communists.

Just as the Slovak nation at home is valiantly resisting the forceful pressure of Moscow and Prague Communism, so the great majority of Slovak exiles is supporting, in every way possible, the effort of the free world against Communist aggression and totality and, in accord with the tradition of the Slovak nation, is fighting for the restoration of its statehood within the framework of a future federated Europe. This fight of the Slovak exiles is based not only on historical, but political and practical considerations as well.

Already at the beginning of the ninth century, the Slovaks had their own State, which the Byzantine Chronicler called Great Moravia, because it extended beyond both banks of the Morava River. The nucleus of this State was the territory of western Slovakia, and its builders were the Slovak rulers Mojmir, Rastislav, Svätopluk and Mojmir II. Already in the eighth century, the Slovaks were among the first in Central Europe to accept Christianity and thereby also western Christian culture and civilization. This Slovak State lasted until 907, when it succumbed to the joint onslaught of the Magyars, Germans and Czechs.

In old Hungary, Slovakia formed a separate political unit with its own administrative, military and financial authorities. It was separated from the rest of Hungary by a customs boundary. In the fourteenth century, Slovakia was an independent territory under the rule of Matúš Čák of Trenčín, who had his own army, coined his own money, and concluded agreements with allies independently. And in the fifteenth century, Slovakia was an independent administrative unit under John Jiskra of Brandýs. After the terrible Turks invaded Central Europe, Slovakia was completely separated from Magyar lands and was a kind of independent State unit under the rule of the Habsburgs. It remained so until the end of the seventeenth century.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, when the Slovaks became increasingly conscious nationally, their desires again tended to their own independence. George Fándly cried out to the Slovaks at that time: "Slovaks, recall the times when our nation lived under

kings of its own people." And the great Slovak poet, John Hollý, wrote beautiful epochs about Svätopluk "who founded the great kingdom of the Slovaks and became an independent sovereign."

In the nineteenth century, the Slovaks were organizing their fight for the political rights of their nation. Louis Štúr, leader of that movement, organized a military rebellion in 1848 to sever Slovakia from the Magyars and proclaimed the independence of Slovakia in Myjava on September 19, 1848. Even though this military revolution failed, the Slovaks kept on fighting politically against Magyarization and the political pressure of Pešť. The Slovaks wanted to be an independent country under the Habsburg rule. Vienna, however, rejected the efforts of the Slovaks for a federation, even though Kraus, Finance Minister of Austria, backed them. The result was that the solution of the important nationality problems in Central Europe were side-tracked for over a half century, which was to the detriment not only of Vienna, but also the whole of Europe and the Central European nations.

On June 7, 1861, Slovaks from all parts of the country assembled at Turčiansky Svätý Martin and demanded that Slovakia be constituted as the Slovak area of Upper Hungary. This was followed by the Spiš petition of 1868, the massacre in Černová in 1907, and the heroic struggle of Svetozar Hurban Vajanský, great Slovak patriot, publisher and writer, who wrote in the *NÁRODNÉ NOVINY* (The National News) in 1910: "To have one's own State is the supreme desire of every nation." But the demands of the Slovaks went unheeded; the Magyars were stubborn and determined to keep the Slovaks under their rule.

When the first World War broke out in 1914, the Slovaks at home and abroad prepared the ground for the liberation of the Slovak nation. Especially the American Slovaks of whom there was close to a million. The latter clamored for Slovak independence in the *SLOVENSKÝ DENNÍK* (The Slovak Daily), published in Pittsburgh, on January 21, 1910. Their action, carried on during World War I under the motto "For An Independent Slovakia," was expressed in the Cleveland Agreement of October 22, 1915, which stated that the Slovaks and the Czechs will live in a federated union of States with complete autonomy of Slovakia, that Slovakia would have its own parliament and its own State administration. In a similar manner, the Slovaks were guaranteed autonomy also by the Pittsburgh Pact, of May 30, 1918, which was signed by T. G. Masaryk. It was on the basis of these suppositions that the Slovaks entered the Czecho-Slovak Republic in 1918.

However, Czech politicians under the leadership of Edward Beneš created the fictitious ideology of an ethnical and political union of the so-called "Czechoslovak nation," which meant in practice the political hegemony of the Czechs over the Slovaks. Just as the Slovaks had to fight for their natural rights in Hungary, so they had to fight again for their political rights in the Czecho-Slovak Republic. The Slovak nation was denied the right to call itself the Slovak nation in a State which was created by the joint efforts of the Czechs and Slovaks. American Slovaks alone had given Masaryk almost a million dollars during the first World War for the liberation movement. Under the circumstances, therefore, the Slovak nation had only

one choice: to fight with all legal means for autonomy as a basis for the complete political independence of the Slovaks.

By sensible and logical arguments it was not possible to convince the Czechs that the Slovaks, too, had a right to full political sovereignty on Slovak territory. It was not until 1938, when the Republic was threatened from the outside, that Beneš finally concurred with the idea that the Slovaks be granted autonomy. The development, however, was going forward speedily at that time. And under the given situation, the Slovak parliamentarians on March 14, 1939, took the historically significant step, when they accepted the responsibility for the fate of their own nation and proclaimed the independence of Slovakia.

From the democratic standpoint, formally it would be possible to censure almost anything about March 14, 1939, but historically it meant and still means the day of renewal of Slovak independence, which is the desire and the goal of the Slovak nation.

Even though at the present time national viewpoints are giving way to the broader perspective of a political federation of the whole of Europe, or at least of Central Europe, nevertheless the real basis for every federation still remain the nations, whether large or small, with which and on which a new form of political society of Europe can be built. That is why the tradition of Slovak statehood is for us a fundamental issue for every form of European political organization. And with Christianity, deeply rooted in the soul of our people since the eighth century, this is the only real basis for liberating Slovakia from the hegemony of Communism.

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WHAT THEY SAID ABOUT TISO

"Monsignor Tiso's execution was a travesty of justice. The fact that he could have remained president of the Slovak nation if he had only bent his knee to the communist tyrant makes him a martyr to the cause of freedom and religion. Although the Slovaks have suffered much from their political oppressors for centuries, this is the greatest crime against them in their historic struggle for national freedom. His tragic death cannot help but inspire Slovaks for centuries to come to defend their God-given political and religious rights." — Abbot Theodore Kojiš, O.S.B., Cleveland, Ohio.

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"Condemnation of Tiso to death was taken as an indication that the Beneš government has surrendered completely to Moscow. Also indicative of this is the fact that the Beneš regime, after piously professing friendliness to the Catholic Church, has begun an effort to seize Catholic schools and establish a state monopoly." — Catholic Universe Bulletin, Cleveland, Ohio.

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"Edward Beneš, murderer of the freedom of the Slovak nation, killed a good man, a zealous priest of Christ, a loyal Slovak patriot, the first president of the Slovak Republic elected by the Slovak nation. The crime of murderer Beneš is worse, uglier and more wicked than the crime of Cain." — Peter Pridavok, President Slovak National Council, London, England, April 1947.

IN RETROSPECT

TISO ON THE GALLOWS

(From "EAST EUROPE," London, April 30, 1947)

The Western Powers fought the war for a number of principles, embodied in the Atlantic Charter, and not in order to enable one nation to dominate another. But in the post-war world, two tendencies are at work. In the West, neither Great Britain, the U. S. A. nor any other country look for territorial aggrandizement. Britain is withdrawing from Egypt, Iraq, Trans-Jordania, India and Burma; the NUEA has recognized the independence of the Philippines, Denmark that of Iceland, China, that of Korea, while France has accepted Syrian and Lebanese self-government. This process of decentralization characteristic of the Western Democracies, is in complete contrast to the process of centralization which is going on in Soviet Russia and her Zone of Influence. In the first place, Russia herself has increased her territory by incorporating the Baltic States, Finnish Karelia, Eastern Poland, Ruthenia, Bessarabia, and part of the Bukovina. On behalf of the Georgian, Armenian and Azerbaijan Republics, she is claiming Turkish and Persian territory. Although wide cultural rights are granted to the Soviet Republics, their administration is completely centralized and dependent on Moscow.

Within the Soviet Zone, Russia is backing all the territorial claims of her satellites: of Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. The most recent effect of this was the failure of the Foreign Ministers to agree on the Austrian Treaty, because Russia has identified herself with Yugoslav territorial demands on Austria. Czecho-Slovakia and Yugoslavia have reestablished their rule over Slovakia and Croatia respectively, both of which had been independent between 1938 and 1945. These two trends form the background against which the Czech and Slovak controversy within the reestablished Republic must be considered. It illustrates the conflicts which the policy of centralization has to overcome.

On April 18th a secret radio transmitter, calling itself "The Voice of the Slovak Republic" broadcast a petition from the Slovak Action Committee. "The Slovak Republic was not the result of external intervention. Its creation called for no foreign support, nor was the approval or consent of Germany sought or deemed necessary. No one can say, that, with the creation of the Slovak Republic, the Germans overran and occupied the Czech lands, for the two events bore no relation to each other. . . . (A similar point of view is taken in the Soviet 'History of Diplomacy,' Vol. III, chapter 24, which deals with the Anschluss and the partition of Czecho-Slovakia, compiled by Academician V. P. Potemkin, edition 1945. It holds Britain and France responsible for the disintegration of Czecho-Slovakia in 1938. — Ed.) The Slovak Republic was recognized by 27 Foreign Powers in a very short time. Among them, states that were bound by treaty against Germany — Poland, Britain, France, Yugoslavia, Belgium, Holland, the U. S. S. R., and so on — and also by states which, as the war progressed, remained neutral — Switzerland, the Vatican, Sweden, Spain and others. The Slovak Republic was not recognized by the U. S. A., but the reason for this may be found in propaganda directed

against the Slovak Republic. . . . It is unthinkable, therefore, that the acts of the representatives of the Slovak Republic should be judged by a court established by Czecho-Slovakia, since Czecho-Slovakia is not their country. . . . Slovak representatives could not have committed any acts of treason against the Czecho-Slovak Government since they did not recognize Czecho-Slovakia as the State to which they belonged, or to which they owed allegiance. On the contrary, they looked upon Czecho-Slovakia as a State into which the Slovak people had been propelled by force and diplomatic intrigue. . . . The proceedings of the National Court in Bratislava against President Tiso and other representatives of the Slovak Republic were not designed for the examination of war crimes defined in Article 6 of the Charter of International Military Tribunal. In the Bratislava trial not only were the persons of President Tiso and other Slovak representatives involved but also the political concept, the idea of a Slovak independent state, and the self-determination of the Slovak nation as such. . . . Had Russia become the protector of the Slovak state, under the presidency of Tiso, there would be no charge of treason today against the chief of the Slovak Republic. . . . We claim the reestablishment of a democratic and Christian Slovak Republic."

This broadcast reveals the real conflict between Slovak and Czech ideas. According to the Slovaks, Czecho-Slovak legal continuity has been interrupted, Independent Slovakia was a reality, and Czecho-Slovak relations must be reestablished on a completely new basis. According to the Czechs, Czecho-Slovakia's legal continuity has been safeguarded, legally Independent Slovakia has never existed, and it was a purely ephemeral creation. The Czechs pass over in silence the fact that the third component of the 1918 Republic, Carpathian Ruthenia, was taken by Soviet Russia. On February 13, 1947, President Benes dotted the i's and crossed the t's of the Czech attitude. Speaking of relations between the Czechs and Slovaks, he said: "Archbishop Dr. Kmetko said in the Tiso trial that the Slovaks would like to have their own state but accept the Czecho-Slovak Republic because there is no way of achieving it. I reject such an argument categorically; I shall never accept it. We could not survive another crisis in Czecho-Slovak relations. After such a crisis there would no longer be a Czecho-Slovak Republic, and Slovakia would not be an independent state in any case; it would most probably fall into Soviet Russia. . . . The Czechs border on a Germany of seventy million people, therefore in the future the Czechs must be neighbors of Soviet Russia. They could not in consequence accept an independent Slovak state as their neighbor. . . . There can be no alternatives today, nor any question of planning a Central European Federation. These plans have been dead ever since Soviet Russia became our neighbor."

The execution of President Tiso was the dramatic consummation of President Benes' policy. Tiso was condemned and executed not as a war criminal, but as the symbol of Slovak independence.

As late as the autumn of 1946, during his visit to Topolcany, President Benes declared before the Council of Slovak Commissars that Tiso must be hanged. When one of the Slovak Commissars remarked that Slovak public opinion would not stand for his execution, Benes replied, "Perhaps it will not stand for it, but it is absolutely necessary."

This explains the appointment of Dr. Daxner as President of the Bratislava court, which tried Tiso. Daxner had sworn vengeance on Tiso for the "wrongs" inflicted by the Slovak nationalists.

And yet, in 1935, Tiso was responsible for the reelection of Benes as President of Czecho-Slovakia. The Slovak People's Party wanted to vote for Dr. Nemez, the candidate for the Agrarians, but at the last moment Tiso convinced his party that Benes was a better choice from a foreign political point of view. Mr. Sidor was the only member of the Slovak People's Party who abstained from voting. Possibly Benes would have commuted the Tiso sentence, especially in view of Slovak public opinion, had he not had to consider the Russian attitude. It was expressed — among others — by Gundorov, the President of the All-Slav Committee in Moscow, who in the Slovak communist daily "Pravda" demanded ruthless punishment of the accused. **Benes chose to follow the Russian line.**

After the occupation of Slovakia by the Soviet Army, Tiso sought refuge in the American Zone of Germany. In November 1945, the American Military Authorities handed him over to the Czechs. As the Slovaks regarded this a breach of the rights of asylum, the Slovak League of America in the U. S. A. made investigations as to who had authorized it. Neither the State Department, nor the General Staff were responsible for this extradition. Apparently the decision had been taken by the local American commander, in response to the demand of the Czecho-Slovak Government. The Prague Government had placed at the disposal of the President of the Czecho-Slovak War Crimes Commission, General Ecer, the sum of 50 million Kcs for the interception of political emigrés, mainly Slovaks.

Flown to Bratislava, Tiso was paraded through the town with chains around his wrists, from which hung a large padlock. He was allowed to attend his father's funeral, but had to march ignominiously in handcuffs. Because of the constant demonstrations in his favor — he was sent letters, telegrams, flowers, food and so on — Tiso was transferred to the prison in Brno and returned to Bratislava only for his trial. He was not allowed to choose his defense counsel, who was appointed by the Czech authorities. Many of the witnesses gave evidence in his favor. The Archbishop of Slovakia, Kmetko, who is highly respected by the Czechs as well as the Slovaks, testified "Tiso acted and worked in the interests of Slovakia, and was never a traitor. His election as President of Slovakia was the will of 90 per cent of the Slovaks at that time."

Tiso himself pleaded not guilty. He maintained that he did not commit treason, and declared the responsibility for the fate of Czecho-Slovakia did not rest with Slovakia, but with the 20 years of Czech domestic and foreign policy. "If God allowed me to carry out my policy again under similar conditions I would do exactly as I have done," Tiso declared.

For the trial special security measures were taken in Slovakia. Czech troops were brought in because the authorities did not trust the Slovak troops. There were large-scale demonstrations in favor of Tiso at Piestany and Puchov, and the Secret Police arrested many people, who were sent to Labor Camps.

On April 15th Tiso was condemned to death by hanging. When asked whether he would appeal for mercy, Tiso replied: "Yes — for

moral reasons." (According to Catholic doctrine a man must defend his life by all available means.) President Benes rejected Tiso's plea, and he was executed on April 18th.

April 18th may prove to be a fateful day in Czecho-Slovak relations. In the eyes of the devout Slovak people the hanging of a priest is an unforgivable act. In the eyes of intelligent Slovaks abroad, it was a crime against national feelings. Benes' rejection of Tiso's plea for mercy is regarded not as the act of a democrat, but of a tyrant. The Slovaks say that thereby Benes has destroyed his own democratic legend.

The unrest which was expected to follow Tiso's execution in Slovakia was checked by very strong measures, but the atmosphere has become very tense and there is much talk of great political changes. Within the Democratic Party there is strife; the Slovak Catholics are expected to go over to the Freedom Party.

On April 17th, Soviet opinion, which is tantamount to official instructions, was thus expressed by the Moscow Radio: "On various occasions, and particularly recently the pro-Tiso and Hlinka Guard elements have behaved with growing impertinence and daring against the vital interests of their own nation.... An ambiguous attitude has been adopted by some Democratic Party circles. Their press directly encourages the organizers of anti-Government action (This referred to the democratic daily, "Čas." — Ed.) A serious menace to democratic reconstruction in Slovakia arises from the influence of reactionary and fascist elements within the Democratic Party. The Hlinka Guard, the followers of Sidor and Durčanský, undermine the State, cause anti-Czech, anti-Soviet and anti-Semitic provocations and attempts to smash the Czecho-Slovak Republic. A relentless purge of all fascists is called for, affecting not only the leaders, but their loyal and still active followers."

Opinions may vary about the trial of Tiso, who was, after all, the protégé of the Germans. But the conception of justice and morality of the average person has been put to a severe strain. Recent trials in East Europe appear to seek political vengeance not justice. This was exemplified in the trials of Archbishop Stepinac, of Mihailovitch and most scandalous of all, that of the 16 members of the Polish Underground Government. World public opinion must never cease to make a stand against injustice and falsehood. In the words of the Gospel, unless you go out and meet evil to combat it, evil will enter your house and destroy you."

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WHO SAID IT?

"The Czechoslovak-Soviet Treaty forms the BASIS of our country's external security and fundamental contribution to the unification of national forces. The alliance with the SOVIET and friendship with the West was welcomed by ALL classes of the Czechoslovak people in complete accordance with their CONVICTIONS and with sincere joy. . . . Thanks to the treaty, Czechoslovakia's interests are receiving effective support." — (Hubert Ripka, Minister of State, Broadcast on the anniversary of the Czechoslovak-Soviet Treaty, London, December 14, 1944).

THE FEDERATION OF THE DANUBE

Lieut. Colonel F. O. Miksche

(Colonel Miksche, fairly well known as a politico-strategic writer, was appointed Czech Military Attache in Paris after the war. He was recalled to Czecho-Slovakia by the Communists, but soon afterwards escaped and acted as adviser on Central European affairs to the Chief of the French General Staff. He is now seconded from the French Army to the Portuguese Higher Staff College. This dissertation was published in the "WORLD REVIEW," London, Nov. 1951.)

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Europe is today living under the constant menace of a new war, the outbreak of which would appear to be only a question of time. The catastrophe can happen tomorrow, or in a year or two, or perhaps later. There can be no doubt that in the past many great mistakes have been made. Passions have gained the upper hand over cool reflections. Only too often propaganda was the basis of official policy, with attractive slogans covering the actions of statesmen. In our time there is no sufficient differentiation between Utopia and reality, party and State policy, journalism and diplomacy.

In May, 1951, the composition and policy of the National Committee, brought into existence by the USA, was the subject of a debate in the British Parliament. Major Legge Bourke, M.P., said:

"I think there is a very great danger, and we ought to face it, that this type of warfare — the cold war — will fall into the hands of those who were discredited in days gone by and who are discredited now in the countries concerned. This must not be just a refugee organization. There could be nothing more fatal to the Christian and Western cause than for it to be thought in the countries behind the Iron Curtain that all this propaganda is being done to restore the old and discredited regimes. We must produce something better than that."

Whereupon Mr. Kenneth Younger, Minister of State, gave the following answer:

"I think the Hon. Member is right when he said we had to be on our guard against allowing this thing to develop into an uncoordinated series of efforts by groups of discredited refugees." — *Hansard*, Vol. 487, No. 106.)

It does not seem as yet as though the Free European Movement had any definite target, hence the prevailing confusion. Talk about freedom and democracy does not constitute a real political program. These words lend themselves to interpretations which vary with the wishes or needs of the speaker. But what are the political aims of the West? A return to the Versailles status quo or a United Europe?

In the last analysis, public opinion is only an artificial product of propaganda. The enslaved peoples behind the Iron Curtain listen anxiously to what the West has to say to them; and their public opinion is naturally built upon what they hear most about. Therefore, when Western propaganda talks of the Versailles Order, this appears to be what the West wants, with the logical effect that Europe would again revert to the quarrelsome atmosphere which characterized the

period between the two wars, and which was the main cause of the second one. In the first enthusiasm over being liberated from Bolshevism, anything would be accepted, but things look different when the first flush is over; and it is then that the difficulties of the past would appear once more.

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In its traditional form (that is to say before 1918) Europe consisted of three clearly-defined, geo-political parts: East, Central, and West Europe. It was the Centre's important task to maintain the balance between East and West. This Centre has always acted as a bulwark against invasions threatening from the East — Slav, Mongol or Turkish people. Even German antagonism against the West could not alter the historic role of Central Europe, although this fact does not seem to have been borne sufficiently in mind by those in whose power it was to make political decisions after the First and Second World Wars.

The unity of the Danubian nations was dissolved in 1918. In 1945 Germany was compelled by her "unconditional surrender" to withdraw from the European Concert, with the result that the balance of power on the Continent was finally destroyed. Thus Central Europe has ceased to exist as a factor of power-policy. Europe now consists of two geo-political parts only — East and West; and as the East has absorbed the greater portion of Central Europe, thus weakening the West, Europe's destiny now depends greatly on American help. Was the realization of this position which led to the Atlantic Pact an effort to restore with Americas' assistance the equilibrium which she could not achieve by herself?

The consolidation of Central Europe, by which I mean the creation of a strong centre in the heart of the Continent, remains one of the basic conditions of European stability. It is a mistake to underestimate the real national character of Russian policy, i.e., Panslavism. This fact could hardly be altered even by the complete destruction of Communism. Russia's daily increase in population is approximately 8,000, so that in 49 years, i.e., in the year 2,000, she will have some 500 million inhabitants, whereas, in comparison, the population of Western Europe is stationary. It is difficult to see how, under this enormous pressure from the East, Europe (England included) can continue to exist without the hard core of a consolidated centre.

It would also be unwise to count too much on "pan-Europe." The proceedings in Strasbourg have shown only too clearly how far we are from realizing the idea; to build upon it would be nothing less than to base Europe's political organization on something which does not exist, and is not likely to do so for a very long time. The Federalization of Europe cannot be achieved at one stroke, but only gradually, step by step. It is necessary, first of all, to group together into Regional Federations those entities which are economically and culturally complementary to each other, and already have some tradition of common background. Such a grouping of several nations, possessing identical economic interests, geographical and cultural characteristics, is a workable proposition in the Danube Basin, which could thus become the core of crystalization in a progressive development of Central Europe.

In the past, no great statesman ever questioned the need for unity of the Danube Basin as a primary condition of European stability.

"The Austrian monarchy is a combination of ill-assorted States. Such a power is necessarily weak, but she is an adequate bulwark against the barbarians, and a necessary one. In the future the Habsburg Empire will stand with its back towards Europe and its front to the East, thus protecting Western civilization from the aggression of Russia." — (Talleyrand on October 17, 1805, to Napoleon, before the battle of Austerlitz).

"What should be put in that space in Europe which is occupied by the Austrian State from Tyrol to the Bukovina? New formations in that area would be of a permanently revolutionary character." — (Bismarck in 1868).

"If Austria did not exist, she would have to be invented." — (Palacky Frantisek, Czech historian, in 1862, generally considered in Bohemia as the "Father of the Czech nation," but unfortunately less known in the West than T. G. Masaryk).

"In America, as elsewhere, it was hard to convince people that it would be necessary to break up Austria-Hungary. Austria was generally looked up as a counterpoise to Germany, as a necessary organization of small peoples and odds and ends of peoples, and as a safeguard against balkanization. I feared that we might achieve nothing if the war ended quickly. If it were protracted, we might have more time for propaganda." — (Prof. T. G. Masaryk: "The Making of a State," Allen and Unwin, London, 1929).

The centrifugal force of extreme nationalism destroyed in 1918 what was about to develop, not by brutal revolution but by peaceful evolution, into a great Central European Commonwealth. It destroyed then what we would now so much like to build up again, under much less favorable circumstances. The practical misery caused to all peoples by this nationalism was much greater than the theoretical happiness it was supposed to give them. An enormous decadence has overcome during the last thirty years, this once so civilized part of Europe. The decision to split up the unity of the Danubian nations was neither humane nor progressive.

The United States seems prepared to support the federalization of Central Europe, but at the same time we have the impression that such important factors as tradition, common cultural standards, etc., are not getting the attention they deserve. If the various National Committees were formed in the hope that they would be able to produce something sensible, we shall have to wait a long time. To recognize them as governments would be tantamount to the recognition of the disorder brought into existence by the Versailles Treaty. A new Central Europe cannot be created by a few fanatical nationalists, but only by men who represent not only the interests of their own small tribes, but who also regard the problem as a whole from a supernational angle, and are no longer under the disturbing influence of their political past.

While I am dealing with the subject of Central Europe, I should like to add that it would be a mistake to set up a federation of that area on too big a scale. Large entities, stretching from the Baltic to the Black and Adriatic Seas, could hardly have the inner cohesion

which would be so necessary in a future Europe. It would be difficult to bring all the different nations inhabiting this region under one common denominator into a federation with no real historic or economic background. There are reasons to believe that this idea is proposed by the Poles. Poland will have many difficulties in the future with Germany on account of the Oder frontier, with the Balts over Vilna and with the Ukrainians over East Galicia. These ambitions of some Polish exiles are not justified historically, ethnographically or morally. As far as we in the Danube Basin are concerned, they only interest us to the extent that we do not wish to be drawn into the quarrels which would be unavoidable if the Danubian countries were to go into a federation with the Poles. As a matter of fact, the Danube Basin has very little in common with Poland either economically or culturally. That country lies north of the Carpathians, and even during the Habsburg monarchy the Polish provinces led an almost isolated existence.

There are other important reasons. A Central European Federation embracing Poland could hardly count on Austria also being a member. It is time that the West understood that Austria, as fashioned in 1918, cannot remain independent for economic reasons. If, therefore, Austria were to remain on her own, an Anschluss with Germany would sooner or later be inevitable. And if the Germans get to Vienna again, the whole political order of the Danube Basin will be thrown to the winds and Germany's pressure on the whole South-east of Europe, especially the Balkan peninsula and Rumania, will be inevitable. Such a development could eventually be a seriously disturbing factor in the cooperation between Germany and the West, especially in Franco-German relations, a danger which can only be averted if Austria is made an integral part of a Danube federation.

THE PROBLEM OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

It is possible that Czechs, Austrians, Hungarians and Slovaks might come to an understanding amongst themselves on a reasonable basis, especially as for centuries they were leading a common existence, but only on condition that the West no longer clings to the idea of the Czechoslovakian State. Czechoslovakia does not fit into the framework of the Danubian Basin, no matter how much one may try. Even to create it, territories from all the neighboring nations had to be incorporated, with the result that in 1938 that country comprised: 7.1 millions Czechs, 3.0 millions Slovaks, 3.5 millions Germans, 0.8 millions Hungarians, 0.4 millions Ukrainians, 0.2 millions Poles; total 15 millions.

And as from 1925 or thereabouts, the Slovaks lived in latent antagonism towards the Czechs, it is hardly an exaggeration to say that 50 per cent of Czechoslovakia's inhabitants were in opposition to the State. Then, again, there is the quite unnatural geographical shape of that country, which stretches about 700 miles right across the Danubian Basin and is at places only 70 miles wide.

In the meantime, in 1946, the 3.5 millions Sudeten Germans, who lived in Bohemia since the thirteenth century and at the Versailles conference had vainly pleaded for self-determination, were rejected in a most inhuman fashion. It is difficult to see how some nine million refugees, who are at present in Western Germany, will be assimilated.

ated within the next few decades, whilst their former countries, the Sudetenland and East Prussia remain practically deserted.

Czechoslovakia was the artificial product of a peace conference — a child of propaganda — whilst Austria and Hungary were her victims. Through the partition of the Danube Monarchy in 1918, Czechoslovakia inherited 65 per cent of the industries which formerly belonged to an Empire of 54 millions and which had been mostly founded with Viennese capital. It was principally to this favorable economic position that this new State owed its reputation. On the other hand, does not this fact prove that the Czech provinces of the former Danubian Empire were by no means so much exploited by Vienna as was maintained at the Versailles Conference?

To talk about the restoration of Czechoslovakia nowadays is plain nonsense. The Slovaks who at all times were opposed to Prague, will never forget that their rightly or wrongly revered leader, Msgr. Tiso, was condemned by a Czechoslovakian Court and that Benes, in spite of the intervention of the Vatican, confirmed his death sentence. By so doing, Benes really signed the death warrant of the Czechoslovak Republic. This action created an unbridgeable gulf between Slovaks and Czechs. The few Slovak emigrants wandering about the West, advocating the idea of a Czechoslovak State, do not represent the free will of the Slovak people, who are today at least to the extent of 80 per cent fanatically anti-Czech. And without the Slovaks there can be no Czechoslovakia.

The fact that propaganda made Masaryk play the role of a prophet does not alter anything. We should not forget that Czechoslovakia during her whole existence was but an international calamity, and that any policy based on false historical foundations can only bring new misfortunes. Why, therefore, cling to ideas which in the past have been proved erroneous, which were one of the main causes of World War II, and the practical existence of which only lasted for twenty years, a mere moment in the life of nations? It remains to be seen whether the West intends to support the ambitions of a few emigrants, who for years have lost contact with their own nations and do not represent anything but themselves. However that may be, we should not forget that in Central Europe there are only eight million Czechs, a distinct minority compared with seven million Austrians, eight million Hungarians and three million Slovaks.

It is rather surprising that free European propaganda is still eulogizing Masaryk. This must strike all Austrians, Hungarians, and Slovaks as being very strange. Of course, for many Czech politicians it is easier to create political capital out of the Masaryk legend than to take up an entirely new line. Would it, however, not be advisable discreetly to do away with this myth and not depend, for propaganda purposes, on names which before history bear the heavy responsibility of disrupting the unity of the Danube peoples?

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The solution of the Danube problem and, in a broader sense, that of Central Europe, lies in a correct blending of the various peoples within a Federation. Only thus can the Slav peoples of Central Europe be prevented from again falling victims to Pan-Slavist ideology, and the Austrians and Hungarians to that of Pan-Germanism. Such a policy alone can restore the internal equilibrium in the Danube Basin and

convert it once more into a constructive factor in European politics. From a practical point of view there appears to be only one possibility of establishing a Central European Federation, and that would be to group together the countries Austria, Bohemia, Moravia, Hungary, Slovakia into a sort of Danubian Switzerland. For this purpose, Czechoslovakia would first have to be split up into her historical, i.e., natural parts. Bohemia and Moravia on one side, Slovakia on the other. We can only repeat that neither Austria nor Hungary will resign itself indefinitely to the existence of Czechoslovakia, to which even the Slovaks are opposed. The position would be different in the case of Bohemia — Moravia being separated from Slovakia. Such a Federation would consist of four autonomous countries: Austria, Bohemia-Moravia, Hungary and Slovakia. The presence of the Czechs and Slovaks is a guarantee that the Federation could not turn pro-German; that of the Austrians and Hungarians that she cannot become pro-Russian.

Of course, even the constitution of such a political organization would prove to have its difficulties. The Allied powers would have to invest Austria with a more important status than what she has held so far. In spite of the occupation, Austria is still the only remaining free Danubian country, and the development of Vienna could have a great influence on the future shaping of the whole Danube Basin. For instance, there are even today half as many Czechs living in Vienna as in Prague, and they are the true bearers of the tradition which, until not very long ago, has linked Bohemia with Austria.

Austria is today one of the most important advanced posts of the West in Central Europe. She will only be able to carry on the fight against Bolshevism if the world is willing to offer her a more just deal than that to which she has been condemned by the Versailles Treaty. Instead of putting too much faith in a few desperate emigrants, would it not be better for the Western Powers to make Vienna the basis of their future Danube policy?

The Czech and Slovak problems ought to be dealt with separately. The oft-repeated argument, that Czechoslovakia's partition into her natural components would cause an even greater dislocation in the Danube Basin fails to convince, if one realizes that such a partition is the essential prerequisite of the creation of a large political entity. The restoration of the unity of the Danube Basin does not hinder the eventual Federation of the whole of Europe; on the contrary, it can make it only easier. From whichever angle one regards the problem, the establishment of a Danube Federation appears to be the first constructive step to be taken in the future political reorganization of Central Europe.

Perhaps it may appear strange that all this should have been written by a Czech. However, a political action can only be judged by its results, and these generally only appear during the lifetime of the next generation. If regarded in this light, it is clear that Masaryk's "liberation" led to the "balkanization" of Central Europe, and that what the Versailles Treaty has created was incomparably worse than what had existed before. One can say with a clear conscience: only bad Czechs can be Czechoslovakians.

CASTLES OF SLOVAKIA

ORAVA

The Orava Castle, one of the most beautiful in Slovakia, nestles some 360 feet above the Orava River. The stronghold is made up of three parts, built at different times: the lower, central, and upper. The central portion is the oldest. This castle was royal property as early as 1010, and its foundation goes back to the pagan period of Slovakia. It is recorded that the castle sent aid to Trenčín in 1069, when the Czechs attacked the city, and that it was a safe refuge for the people in 1241, when the barbaric Tatars invaded Hungary.

If you would enter the lower courtyard, you must pass through a gate and a tower. On the gate you find the inscription, "I. Z. C. 1543" and two beautiful escutcheons: one of George Thurzo and the other of Francis Zichy. Inside the lower courtyard are the residences of officers, the record room, a well, and a chapel. Members of the Thurzo and Tököly families, as well as those of other notables, are buried within the chapel walls. As you pass on, you pause before a beautiful staircase to view the two sculptured lions on columns stationed at the foot of the stairs. You ascend the stairs, pass through a heavy gate, and enter the oldest part of the Orava Castle, the courtyard and the castle proper.

In the courtyard is a well which flows into the Orava river beneath the Castle. To the right of the well is a cave, within which, a legend says, Peter Varday, Archbishop of Kaloča, was imprisoned in 1484, because he spoke too freely against higher taxes. Then you enter the castle, which was once occupied by the Thurzo family, and find the portraits of all the administrators of Orava, from George Thurzo down to Zichy. Odd, worn stairs in the wall and ladders take you to a long narrow bridge, which extends to the entrance of the upper castle. This courtyard is quite small compared to the others. The chapel is the highest point of this castle. Beneath this are small narrow rooms or cells in which, the Oravans tell you, "the Red Monks once lived."

The castle has passed through many hands. Records show that Peter Balaša, administrator of Hont, occupied it in 1267. The dauntless Matúš Čák — "the mighty lord of the Váh and the Tatras" — became the owner in 1298, and some time later a man named Donč. In 1320 the King exchanged two other castles for Orava. Lambert became the administrator in 1322, and Hypolytus, Count of Kremnica, succeeded him in 1335. During the reign of Louis (1342—1382), Stephen Katy (1355), Dietrich Bebek (1379), Vladislaus and John Kakas (1380), and Count Nicholas (1382) were administrators of Orava and occupied the Castle. Louis was a frequent visitor at the castle; it was here that he held counsel with his uncle Casimir, King of Poland. When Casimir died in 1370, Louis succeeded him as regent of Poland and passed through Orava many times on his way to Poland.

In 1398 King Zigmund gave the castle to Ctibor, who ruled over Bečkov and several other castles in the upper Váh territory. When Ctibor died in 1424, Zigmund gave the castle to Nicholas and Andrew Balucký, over the protests of Ctibor's daughter, Catherine. Jiskra, the Hussite, took the castle in 1440. The Russian Duke, Peter Odrovaž,

was imprisoned in the castle by Jiskra in 1442. Peter Komorovský, who held Likava besides five other strongholds, became administrator of Orava in 1449. Komorovský lost all except Orava to Mathias Corvin, because he allied himself with Prince Casimir of Poland, who sought to unseat Mathias as Regent of Hungary. Mathias could not take the stronghold by force; Komorovský sold it to him for 8000 ducats in 1474. Komorovský left for Poland, but his army, "the Black Regiment," joined up with King Mathias. John Corvin, who succeeded his father as regent, married into the Zápol'ský family. After his death in 1505, the castle became the property of the Zápol'ský family.

In 1526, the two Kostkas, Peter and Nicholas, Czech noblemen, defended it in the name of Zápol'ský so well, that Katzianer, commander of King Ferdinand's army and the man who practically wiped out Trenčín in 1528, could not capture it. Sometime later the Kostkas made up with Ferdinand, who recognized their possessions (Lietava and Strečno, received from Zápol'ský for valuable services rendered) and gave Orava to the grandson of the Kostkas' sister, John of Dubová, in 1534. The latter died in 1545 without heirs and willed the castle to Wenceslaus Sedlnický on the condition that the Kostkas could have it on the payment of 9000 ducats, the sum expended in furnishing the castle. Nicholas Kostka wanted the castle very much, but did not have the stipulated 9000 ducats. It became his, however, indirectly some years later. Francis Thurzo, administrator of Nitra, fell in love with Barbara Kostka, Nicholas' daughter, and married her in 1554. Thurzo paid Sedlnický the required sum and became the next owner of the castle. He built the lower part of the castle and the well in the courtyard, furnished the rooms luxuriously, and planted fruit trees in the vicinity. His wife died about ten years later without bearing children, and Thurzo married Catherine Zrinský, who bore him four sons and two daughters. Thurzo willed the castle to his oldest son George when he died in 1576. The Thurzo widow then married Emerich Forgáč.

George Thurzo became palatinate. In 1611 he pronounced judgment against "the Bloody Countess Bathory" of Čachtice. He died in 1616 and left the castle to his son Henry. The latter died five years later and the Orava stronghold passed into the hands of Catherine Tököly, a Thurzo by birth. The seventeenth century was packed with trouble for the occupants of the castle, which passed into the hands of kings, rebels, and brigands. Emerich Tököly fortified the castle and Caspar Pika was at the head of the garrison stationed there. The castle was taken in 1674 by generals Špork and Heister through the treachery of the Polish division of the garrison. Pika was pinned to a pole and the other defendants were slaughtered. Tököly's four-year-old son and his tutor got away with their lives. The rebels under Rákoczy won the castle back in 1703, only to lose it to the Emperor's army in 1711.

The Orava Castle was damaged by fire May 18, 1800, but was partially rebuilt soon after. In the first quarter of the twentieth century Orava came into the possession of the Zichy family, who restored it to its present condition.

If times ever get normal again and you will be allowed to travel to Slovakia, visit Orava Castle and view the beautiful, enchanted Orava valley from the castle heights.

I WAS IN SLOVAKIA

Edward L. Delaney

Many Slovaks in America, especially those born in this country, have but a limited knowledge of their parents' or grandparents' land. As for the millions of Americans who have no kinship with Slovakia, the word is merely the latter half of Czecho-Slovakia, which had been impressed upon their consciousness by the propaganda bureaus of the late Edward Benes and his predecessor Thomas Masaryk. One will search long in those propaganda papers for any paragraphs conveying the impression that the Slovaks are the political, cultural or industrial equals of the Czechs.

Perhaps one reason that the Czech rather than the Slovak part of the hyphenated name has been given greater publicity is that the capital, Prague, is predominantly Czech and the majority of visitors from other parts of the world seldom get beyond that city.

There is no denying that the Prague of pre-1945 days did possess an individual atmosphere and charm for those who are interested in the architectural treasures and historical landmarks of Europe's older cities.

It was this writer's good fortune to have visited or resided for extended periods in several of the other European capitals before visiting Prague. Many months later I was afforded the opportunity for a stay of two years in Slovakia. At that time the synthetic Czecho-Slovakia had ceased to exist. Following nine hundred years of struggling for independence, the Republic of Slovakia was established and the people could say that they had attained something approximating their goal.

The evening of my arrival in Bratislava, capital of the new State, a Professor Dobal called on me at the Carlton Hotel. He informed me that he was connected with the State propaganda bureau and that their attache, Streiznic, at the Berlin Legation, had telegraphed that I was arriving. Foreign correspondents and writers were sought out by them and efforts made to present their country in the best light. An appointment was made for me to meet his chief, Tido J. Gaspar.

Tido J., as I soon learned, was the most photographed man in Slovakia. No news reel was complete without him smiling or hand-shaking his way into the center of the picture. He was the official greeter. An actor with the whole country as his stage. In his lapel, winter or summer, was always a gardenia, a full bloom rose or a cluster of flowers in season. His attire was patterned on the rigorously correct lines of New York's official greeter, Grover Whalen. In fact one got the impression that Tido J. Gaspar may have met or studied the life-and-times of Grover Whalen or the late Jimmy Walker, the most popular mayor New York ever had, for he was their counterpart in Central Europe.

"What can I do for you?" he asked after we had exchanged the usual formalities of visitor and host.

"Nothing," I informed him, except to suggest what would be interesting for me from a scenic as well as a historical point of

view. That appealed to him. The alert and competent young men of his travel department laid out an itinerary for me which covered the principal cities and included a short stay in the justly famed High Tatra resorts of the Carpathian Mountains.

Bratislava was at that time the Mecca for all who, by any maneuvering, could arrange to go there. World War II was in the early stages. Food restrictions and rationing had been imposed on a large part of Western and Central Europe. A long bridge over the Danube connects Bratislava with Austria, across which rolls the rail and motor traffic to Vienna some sixty miles away. But it is no longer the Vienna of Johann Strauss and Franz Lehar music with food and drink to be enjoyed in leisurely comfort. Even in those early days of the war all Austria and Germany were areas of dismal faces and unappetizing meals.

Bratislava — which many still referred to as Pressburg — was the magnet that drew visitors from all Central Europe. For in Slovakia was to be had food and drink, music and laughter without let, stay, or hindrance. With the exception of the adjoining country of Hungary, no other part of Central Europe enjoyed the essentials and many of the luxuries of life, as did the people of Slovakia before the period when Stalin's hordes swarmed over the country like a swarm of locusts and literally laid it to waste.

In most of the propaganda that emanated from various sources in Europe and was eagerly snapped up and exaggerated by the sinister influences in this country, the impression was conveyed that Germany syphoned off the food resources of Slovakia long before their armies actually occupied the country late in the year 1944. Even at the risk of being charged with attempting to mitigate the sins of the Nazi Regime, I assert that, in those days it was regarded as rare good fortune if one could get into the Slovak paradise and there obtain a good meal with whatever was desired in the way of wines, spirits or liquors, all at prices which, even in those times were reasonable.

Until the severe winter of 1944—45, citrus fruits, such as lemons and oranges from Italy or Spain, might be had in the public markets. Such delicacies had been off the markets in Austria and Germany for nearly five years.

In addition to all dairy products, poultry, beef, pork, sugar, confectionery and tobacco wares were obtainable in Slovakia with but slight restrictions on the amount of certain items that might be purchased. Also clothing, shoes and dress materials were to be had.

At that time the shops of Austria and Germany were bare of goods. Just over the Danube from Bratislava the shops were empty. Such stores as the Woolworth chain were barren. Shelves and tables of empty cartons or a single item — usually a wooden toy or some article of glass. Rows of the same useless article. Nothing was to be found that contained metal, cotton, rubber wool, silk — all of which materials were needed for the war supplies. After observing those empty shops in Vienna, Munich, Berlin, Frankfurt and Cologne, it was as a fairyland to enter business establishments of the same type in Slovakia and find most anything one might expect to see in shops beyond the warring zone.

The people of Slovakia knew they were enjoying a veritable heaven of plenty as compared to their neighbors. Their new status as an independent country began in the spring of 1939. Only a few persons, whether in the cities, towns or villages, did not realize that they were the envy of people in their neighboring states. Slovak independence and self-determination was paying them dividends even in the material advantages they could see and understand. Small wonder that their political leaders were popular and their policies approved.

Therefore it was not surprising that the majority of the people had only words of praise for President Joseph Tiso and the other officials of their young republic. What many did not realize was that Germany was syphoning off their surplus of agricultural and manufactured products. In exchange the Slovaks did receive some goods, such as tools, machinery, electrical equipment and railway supplies, but for the most part they got only promises to pay in such materials. The debt owing by Germany was increasing with staggering amounts each month. But the majority of the people enjoyed their temporary prosperity with scant worry about the future.

Although there was little doubt in their minds as early as 1942, that the Axis Powers were doomed to defeat, they held to the hope that by some political magic they would escape the horrors of war and the penalties to follow.

In those days of the Republic of Slovakia, it was a country of contrasts. Evidences of its centuries old civilization and customs were to be observed alongside products that were as up to the minute as tomorrow's newspaper.

For example: the express trains making daily trips to and from the high Tatra resorts were powered by Diesel electric locomotives, with lounge, dining and observation cars comparable to those of other European railway systems. But in the country, through which the deluxe train sped smoothly, one observed also the primitive ox carts on winding dirt roads. Oxen pulled the plows and harrows in the fields. Moreover, the branch railway lines that wound around or over the mountains and dipped down into fertile valleys offered the traveler what comfort he might get from a hard wooden bench in a dimly lighted coach behind a wood burning steam engine of the type used in the western mountain country of the United States seventy-five years ago.

Stepping from the modern express on the High Tatra run, to the miniature train that huffed and puffed its way to Banska Stiavnica was like bridging a gap of three quarters of a century. It chanced that my arrival in Banska Stiavnica synchronized with a heavy snow storm. After plodding through darkness and deep snow for what seemed to be a mile, the youth, who had dragged my luggage on a sled, ushered me through the portals of a building that had all the appearances of an old Roman ruin. It was old and the Romans had probably been there, but it was not ruined and from the durable manner in which stone and mortar were put into buildings in those middle ages, it will not be in ruins for another few centuries.

Tens of thousands of shoes or sandals had worn deep grooves in the stone door step. Electric lights replaced the candles or oil tapers that had lighted the way for guests who came there in other

centuries, but that was about all the concession that had been made to the modern world. The building, so I learned from the Sudeten German woman who operated it, was over three hundred years old. The cold room to which I was assigned boasted a bed which was less than three centuries old, but it was about the only modern piece in the antique setting. Although appreciating the charm of architectural treasures and old landmarks, there are times when one misses the creature comforts that are afforded in our modern hotels and homes. That was one of those times. But the warming effect of a "slivovica" and gobs of excellently roasted goose, polished off with another potent drink, served to banish the fear of waking in that three hundred year old room to find that I was frozen to death.

Oddly enough one seldom heard about the precious metals that were once part of Slovakia's contribution to the world's wealth. Much of the old currency and art objects in the Hungarian empire and Central Europe were made from gold and silver ores that were mined at Kremnica and near Banská Štiavnica. But with the increasing costs of production and the relatively cheap price of the metal during the quarter of a century before the birth of the Republic of Slovakia, those mines had been practically abandoned. World War II altered the situation. Central Europe was cut off from the silver producing countries of North and South America. Mining of that metal was stepped up. The silver smiths of Slovakia again plied their trade and many articles of their handiwork appeared in the shops.

Through the perfidious acts of the signers of the agreements at Teheran and Yalta, Stalin's minions, the Communist confiscators, have no doubt taken possession of those sources of wealth. Whatever treasure is taken from them now, finds its way into the coffers of the Communists instead of being fashioned into articles for the use of people or for objects of art in the churches of Christ. Like other industries, which were created or resulted after the establishment of the Republic of Slovakia, the mines of Štiavnica are serving the needs of Stalin.

Political charlatans, such as Edward Benes, who were lauded by the American press and propagandists, sold the Slovaks into bondage for less than the thirty pieces of silver, which was the price of Judas for betraying his Master. They wanted and for a time enjoyed personal aggrandizement and political power as puppets of their Moscow master. They silenced any murmur of protest that might have been raised by the people who for nine hundred years had struggled for independence.

SLOVAKIA — VICTIM OF TEHERAN AND YALTA

The Central European satellites around the Soviet star are often referred to as being of Slavic origin. Some omniscient ones give that as one reason why Stalin had little difficulty in merging them into the Red orbit.

Slovakia, as we know, was one of the countries sold into bondage at Teheran and Yalta — the completion of the betrayal being seen when Eduard Benes returned in 1945 as puppet president of the so-called Czecho-Slovakia and for two years or so made grotesque

efforts to disguise the fact that Stalin, and not Benes or Klement Gottwald, was the supreme being in their capital at Prague.

Ethnologically it is not incorrect to group the peoples of Russia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Ukraine, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia into a Pan-Slav classification. The vast majority of the peoples in the so-called Slav nations has little in common with the Russians. In past generations there was a bond of Christian religion which ran through all the Slav countries, either the Orthodox Greek-Russian Church or, in the case of Slovakia, Poland, Croatia, the Roman Catholic Church. The rise of atheistic Communism in Russia was the death knell of Christianity there, hence a splitting wedge was driven between most of the Balkan and Central European countries and the great Slav domain of the Soviet.

Slovakia, Poland and Croatia have been predominantly Roman Catholic for centuries. Only a small percentage are adherents of the Orthodox Church. Hence, any contention that there is a racial and religious affinity among the Slav peoples, which simplified their enslavement by Moscow, is lacking in support. Furthermore, it is leaking out through cracks and crinks in the Iron Curtain that Stalin is finding more than a little difficulty in merging the Slovaks into his godless domain. When for over eleven centuries a people, such as the Slovaks who have prayed to God and His Son, the Christ, it is not likely that the deity of the Kremlin can soon purge their minds of the One Supreme Being.

THE SLOVAKS ARE CELTS?

Also — if we were to accept the opinion of a learned professor it was my good fortune to meet in Banska Bystrica — there is no RACIAL kinship between the Slovaks and the Russians. The Slovaks are not Slavs, asserted that student of history, but on the contrary they are Celts.

A professor Dobal in Bratislava had given me a note of introduction to the curator of the museum in Banska Bystrica. It developed that the gentleman knew more about the history of mankind than Gibbons, H. G. Wells, or any of those who have written weighty tomes on the origin of man, etc.

This Slovak scholar, well along in years, had been instructor in a university at Constantinople (before it was called Istanbul) also in Budapest. His specialty was Sanskrit Arabic, the Hebrew language and other writings on the earliest history of mankind.

"You are Irish," he said to me, after we had disposed of a slivovica and coffee, "and the Irish are Celts. A characteristic of the Irish is black hair with blue eyes. That is observed among our people here in Slovakia." President Tiso, I have already mentioned had black hair and blue eyes.

If the professor was endeavoring to make me feel a racial kinship with the Slovaks — the Celtish background — he certainly supported his opinion with more arguments than black and blue for hair and eyes.

It was a lengthy thesis he expounded on the subject, but the gist of it was that all the people of Europe stem from the original inhabitants living in the region around the Mediterranean, the Jordan, the

Red and the Dead Sea. The garden of Paradise is supposed to have been in that general part of the Near East.

The Celts — as part of the early human family of which we have any history, so the professor asserted — were brawny, pioneer lads, pagans in those days, of course, who hunted and explored and pushed their way westward. Some of them got as far as the western shores of Europe, which we now know as the coast of Brittany in France. From there they launched boats and set up their cabeens in Ireland and Scotland, where they are today.

Some of those early Celts, according to this student of the subject, decided that the area just west of the Carpathian Mountains — which is Slovakia — was a pretty good part of the earth to stake out for their children and grandchildren for generations to come. So there they stayed.

Like the other Celts who went on to Ireland, they were converted to Christianity well over a thousand years ago and have remained steadfast in their faith ever since, just as have the fightin' Irish. That, the Banska Bystrica gentleman informed me, is another evidence of the kinship, the similarity in character and traditions.

He then escorted me to a conical pile of stones towering four stories high, in which were kept many relics and articles that had been dug from the ground in Slovakia over the past generations. There were cooking utensils, ornaments of solid gold and silver, bits of clothing, crude instruments for killing, such as the crusaders of the middle ages carried, and many other articles. Oddly enough, I had seen articles almost identically the same in the museum of Dublin, Ireland, on one of my visits there. Those in the Dublin museum had been unearthed in the peat bogs and fields of Ireland. The professor had a point there. The traces of civilization, which we have found, do have similarity.

The old gentleman then took me to his home and into the basement or cellar under it. There were stacks of musty manuscripts, some on the oldest known kind of parchment. The signs and symbols on they were just hieroglyphics to me, but to that scholar they told stories and epics of history which had been written in the middle ages. Whether or not the Slovaks are Celts and kin of the Irish and Scots, instead of the Russians, I shall not attempt to prove. But that was the contention of one learned Slovak in Banska Bystrica.

SLOVAKIA UNDER THE REDS

Of course, now that the Communists are in Slovakia, and Moscow is to be regarded as the fountain head of all culture and wisdom, it is likely that any reference to the Christian Celts as being remotely related to the Slovaks will be purged from the people's minds and records. It would be interesting to know what the Communists have done to the shrine, the mausoleum of Father Andrej Hlinka in Ruzomberok, at which I had knelt in prayer a day or so before going to Banska Bystrica.

It was Father Hlinka who, by his zeal, tireless energy and strength of character, had brought about the political unity and solidarity which made possible the creation of the Slovak Republic. Although it was short lived, it did demonstrate to the world that a

Slovak state is feasible and may again be upon the maps of Europe.

It would be incorrect to assert that everyone in the Slovak Republic, during the six years of its existence, was enthusiastically optimistic as to its future in the assembly of nations comprising the European continent.

In this connection, it should be mentioned, that the greatly publicized plan or proposal said to have been urged by General Dwight Eisenhower, for a United States of Europe, may be dismissed as wishful thinking. Such a "United States" could not possibly function at this stage of world history when half of Europe is free and half slave, half Christian and half under the ruthless domination of pagan dictators. Until the situation is altered and Communism is banished from Europe, there can be no lasting unity. To even discuss the matter before that is accomplished, is utterly futile.

A SLOVAK TEXAS RANGER SPEAKS HIS MIND

A well-to-do industrialist in Bratislava pointed out to me about 1942 what was to be the fate of Slovakia and Europe in the post-war period. He is not a Slovak but one who resided in Slovakia when it was part of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, then under the government of Czechoslovakia and remained to carry on under the Republic, as did many of Hungarian, Czech, Austrian or German nationality. All enjoyed equal rights.

As he may still be living there, it would be wrong to mention his name, because reprisals might be inflicted on him, should these words be brought to the attention of Red spies in this country.

On my initial visit to his home, the first objects that met my eyes were a western saddle and a Winchester rifle in a regulation leather holster. Very much American. Then I got the story. He had been a Texas Ranger in his younger days! There were notches in his leg from slugs of desperados, several of whom he had killed in his encounters with them along the borders of the Rio Grande. Speaking five languages fluently and knowing the continent of Europe thoroughly, his opinions on the current and impending events were worthy of attention.

"What a misfortune 'Teddy' Roosevelt isn't in the White House today," he said shortly after we met. "Things would be different. The way it appears now, Europe is being delivered straight into chaos and Communism. You know what that means? I do. During the bloody reign of terror under that so-and-so (expressive Texas Ranger term) Bela Kun, I witnessed enough of it. I was interpreter before some of the committees in Budapest and stared that 'so-and-so' in the eye many a time. I'd have killed him if I got the chance, and he knew it. What is the intention of Franklin Roosevelt? To deliver us over to the Reds again?"

It was necessary to first destroy the forces of Hitler, I pointed out and then . . .

"Then what? That's the question. True enough the Nazi yoke on the German people must be broken and they be brought back to help in the scheme of things. But you mark my words, Stalin is the only one who is winning anything in this war. He's not winning it either. It's being given to him. Unless his henchmen are thrown out of the

Balkans, the Baltic states, Poland and all the other spots he will take over soon; the whole of Europe and western civilization will go backward for a century or so."

"You are not so badly off here in Slovakia at present," I ventured to say.

"Nonsense. Our freedom here is but temporary, and so is the prosperity. Fool's gold. You know what that is? A flash in the pan, a mirage. Can't make this country self-sufficient. It has to be hitched on to some other part of Europe. Always has been. The Germans developed it at one period of history. It was part of the Hapsburg Monarchy, then the neglected half of Czecho-Slovakia. It will be taken over by the Reds after the war — see if I'm not right. Could make it a self-determining state, if the other European powers, supported by America, demanded it. But they won't, unless great pressure is brought on the influences now in Washington, London and Paris. But I'm not leaving here. Sure, I'm what they call a capitalist, an enemy of the Reds. I've got that Winchester and two Colt pistols. When they're empty the Reds can take what's left. I won't know much about it then."

That was one man's opinion of what was transpiring in Slovakia and Central Europe at that time and what he thought the future held for them. He was not always so explosive in his observations, but in the two years and more I knew him I learned to respect his estimate of the European scene, though at times I may not have entirely agreed with him.

But was he not right as regards the sell-out of Christianity in Central Europe? Was he not correct in his prediction that only Stalin was winning the war and that his greatest aides were then not in Moscow, but in London and Washington? In these days when we are exhorted to strive and save and struggle to rescue Europe and ourselves from the menace of Communist control, let us reflect on the facts of those who — with what appears to have been pre-determination — consigned Slovakia and other Christian nations to perdition.

MEETING PRESIDENT TISO

At a dinner party in Bratislava I first met Joseph Mracna, formerly Consul for Czechoslovakia in New York. It developed, when comparing notes, that we had both sailed from New York on the same day in December 1939. He on the *Vulcania* bound for Lisbon, while my voyage was on the *Excalibur* with Genoa as my destination.

Mracna and his wife, who was Viennese, were very pro-American and longed for the time when they might return to the United States where he had many friends and acquaintances, several of whom were also my friends. Although born in Slovakia, Mracna had spent the greater part of his life in other countries. He attended universities in Vienna and Paris, following which he had been occupied in foreign countries even before becoming the Czechoslovakian Consul in New York.

He was, at the time I knew him, a member of the Foreign Office of the new Slovak Republic where his experience and knowledge of affairs in several other countries was most useful. I asked if he could arrange an audience for me with the President. He said he could; and did.

When I arrived at the presidential palace at the time appointed for my audience, Karol Murin, personal secretary for the President, cautioned me against detaining him too long and also mentioned that it would be inappropriate to question him on matters of foreign and domestic policy. Mracna, it seems, had inferred that it was more of a personal and human interest chat that I desired with the President, which was correct, but I was also most eager to interview him on political issues — domestic and foreign.

Monsignor Joseph Tiso, or President Tiso as he was then, radiated those qualities so often observed in the successful politician. Animation, vigor, affability and the obvious desire to make friends and please people, without letting it appear as a veneer to mask his real thoughts.

He greeted me with a hearty handshake and, after Karol Murin left us, he led the way to the corner of his study in the palace. He was in perfect health, but a physical director would undoubtedly have prescribed more exercise to guard against overweight which is often the worry of those nearing the half-century mark. His black hair was but sparsely sprinkled with grey and a radiant trinkle lighted his dark blue eyes.

Since my knowledge of the Slovak language was limited to some dozen or more words and he spoke very little English, our interview was carried on in German. My opening remark was that he had established history by being the first Catholic priest to be the head of a sovereign state.

"Oh, no," he replied, "there was Seipel in the former Austrian government."

Monsignor Seipel, I reminded him, was prime minister but not president.

"There was Richelieu."

He, too, as I called to his attention, was prime minister while Louis of France was king. So it seemed that my reference to history was correct.

After some minutes of general conversation I said that I had been cautioned not to question him on matters of state, but that I would like to do so.

"Please do. Any questions you ask, I'll try to answer them."

WHAT ABOUT POLICIES?

Then I was free to touch on several topics that interested me and most anyone else who had any knowledge of the happenings inside Central Europe during these days.

"It is true that your policies are dictated by Germany?"

"No," he insisted. "In foreign matters our policies are formulated so that they do not conflict with those of the Axis Powers. Since we are within their orbit it would be suicidal to strongly oppose them. But in domestic matters we form our own policies which, in many instances, do not coincide with those of Germany. German territory as you know is just across the Danube. Only a bridge between us — but it is a long bridge." He smiled when he realized that I grasped his none too subtle meaning.

"Some of your critics," I then said, "declare that you — and by that I mean the Slovak Republic — are subject to instructions from the Vatican."

"The usual charge of the uninformed," he replied. "I have no connection with the Vatican, except through the diplomatic channels, the same as other countries to which the Vatican City has accredited representation. (There was a Vatican diplomatic official resident in Bratislava.) Any communications affecting the religious affairs of our people would be transmitted through the bishops. I am not a bishop. In my capacity as president I have no connection with Rome, other than I have pointed out."

All religious denominations were accorded the same right of worship, he pointed out. The largest Protestant group was the Lutheran Evangelical, of which Rev. Martin Razus was the accepted leader and who was not only cooperating with him politically, but they were personal friends. In the eastern part of the state were also many Orthodox or Greek Catholics.

AGAIN WITH THE CZECHS?

Was it likely, I asked, that the Slovaks and Czechs would again unite in a government after the war?

That question did not receive a direct answer. He reminded me that from the very inception of the Czecho-Slovakian government, there had been discrimination against the Slovaks. The autonomy, which had been promised, had been denied them. Those who protested and agitated for Slovak rights, such as Hlinka and himself, were imprisoned. Something like nine months he had spent in a Czech jail for protesting the injustices that were inflicted on the Slovak people and demanding that their rights be recognized. Later he had been Minister of Health in the Prague cabinet. The Slovaks, he assured me, desired to live in peace and harmony with the Czechs, the Poles, the Hungarians and the Germans, but they also believed they were entitled to the "self-determination" that had been loudly proclaimed and was said to be the inalienable right even of all small nations.

They were now, for the first time in history, an independent country. The problems facing them were many and varied.

President Tiso referred with considerable pleasure to his visit in the United States in 1937. He expressed the wish that the thousands of Slovaks in Canada and the United States be informed of the prospects for betterment which he felt was due their people through the enactment of the programs of development then under way.

NEED OF TEACHERS AND TECHNICIANS

Their greatest problem, he said, was in finding men and women for the jobs that had been created. "We need technicians, instructors in the schools and universities and specialists for industrial projects. Our high schools are over-crowded. Students want education and want to get ahead, but we lack sufficient teachers. The same in many businesses. We hope to meet these needs in time."

He made the remark that, although specialists and technicians were urgently needed, he hoped they would not have to rely too much on the Germans. That and other comments indicated his dislike for

the small army of German engineers and technicians who had come into the country to aid in its development.

THE SLOVAKS AND THE RUSSIANS

There had been a small token Slovak force sent against the Soviet soon after the outbreak of the German-Soviet hostilities in 1941, but they were withdrawn and the men, for the most part, were working in various industries that contributed products for the war effort. I pointed out to the President that they and the Russians were Slavs and was it not consistent that they be on the side of their blood brothers?

There was a pause and his face became very earnest. "Quite true, We are blood brothers. But when those blood brothers are Bolsheviks and Communists," doubling his fist and pounding on the table in front of him Tiso said, "then we'll fight to the last man."

President Tiso, like the martyred Draja Mihailovitch of Yugoslavia, Archbishop Stepinac and Mindszenty of Budapest, did not hesitate to take a firm and defiant stand against the greatest menace Christian civilization was then facing — and is still facing today. But because he and those other courageous ones were not deceived by the propaganda, the pious platitudes and spurious policies of the Western Powers as regards the Soviet, he was marked for sacrifice. The Washington State Department, at the behest of Stalin's puppets, actually delivered him to tortures and to death. Deny it though they would like to do today — when Christian leaders like Joseph Tiso are needed to weld Central Europe into a strong bastion against the Communist horde — the bald truth remains that in 1945 our State Department, as a supine and subservient tool of Stalin, consigned Tiso and the Slovaks to Red domination and extermination.

Regardless of all arguments to the contrary, Joseph Tiso was sincerely desirous of helping his people — the long oppressed country that for nine hundred years had kept the fires of Christianity alive in Central Europe. How long those fires will smoulder under the ruthless domination of Communist destroyers of religion and civilization, is a grave question.

Whether it was mistaken judgment for the Slovaks to accept the assistance of Germany, to achieve the measure of independence they enjoyed, is a matter of opinion. There was no war in progress when the Slovak Republic was born and none was imminent. They revolted against obvious injustices of the Prague Government. The Czech majority could have compromised and settled their differences. They did not. When the internal revolt came, Hitler took advantage of the situation and proffered his might against outside aggression. Slovakia accepted the offer. If Joseph Tiso was a traitor to his country, then the same can be said of Eamon de Valera in Ireland, Mahatma Ghandi in India, or the gallant Marshall Mannerheim in brave little Finland. All were patriots fighting for their people. All were persecuted, smeared and discredited, but their names will live in the histories yet to be written.

TISO HAD A SENSE OF HUMOR

After further lengthy discussion of various topics, I was about to depart when Karol Murin came to inform the President that the Finance Minister was waiting to see him. Tiso accompanied me into a vast room looking out across a walled garden in which he said he took daily walks. Little did I know then that, over two years later, he would be taking many long walks together in another walled enclosure and resume our discussions on the world's affairs. But that is another story.

The air of the room was chilly. — A thought occurred to me.

"Your Excellency," I said, "some persons told me that you are always very serious and earnest. But there's a twinkle of mirth in your eyes at times and I have an idea that there's considerable humor in you."

"Perhaps," he smiled.

"Would it be appropriate if I gave you a little present?"

"What, for instance?"

"I thought that in these cold days of winter, just for medicinal purposes, of course, you might appreciate a half dozen bottles of good Canadian whisky."

Tiso chuckled and his eyes lighted with the mirth I had noted there before. "I'll be glad to get it," he said.

The half dozen bottles were duly delivered from a source in Bratislava where I knew it was obtainable. Later on Karol Murin asked me to call again at the palace, when I was given the compliments of the President and a token of his appreciation for the whisky. It is a wonderfully embroidered table cloth, one of the finest specimens of Slovak needlework that could possibly be found. It is today my most treasured possession.

Very recently a letter came to me from Karol Murin who is now a resident of Canada. He informed me that my friend Joseph Mracna, whom I got to know very well in the two years following our meeting, had been murdered by the Communists. The Slovak patriot, Monsignor Joseph Tiso, was delivered to Benes and his Red Government by the United States authorities to be exterminated, because he was the arch enemy of Communism. In 1945, the year when that assistance to Communist designs was rendered by our officials, it was politically unwise to declare one's undying opposition to the forces of anti-God even then seeking our destruction. President Tiso paid the supreme penalty for his devotion to his God and his country.

COMES MY TURN TO BE INVESTIGATED

The Carlton Hotel, in Bratislava, where I had resided for months, was a meeting place for German military officers, legation attaches and couriers, coming and going all the time. A physician living in the hotel, whom I had called on a time or two for professional services, informed me that someone at the German Legation had quizzed him about me. The physician was Slovak, his wife Hungarian, enough to assure me they were not sympathetic to the German officials.

"That American is no friend of Germany," the legation official said to the physician. "What's he doing here and why is he permitted to stay?"

Just what the doctor said to divert suspicion, I do not know, but within a few days the local police inspectors came to question me about my stay in the country, my source of income, what I was doing, and so on. My replies were vague, but apparently satisfactory for the Slovak police. But it caused me considerable worry. Pressure might be brought to bear which would send me across that bridge into German territory. That I must escape at all costs. Again I sought out Joseph Mracna in the Foreign Office. We had talked frankly before and I knew I could trust him. My permit to remain in Slovakia was about to expire and also my passport. Would they deport me?

Mracna conferred with the proper authorities, then informed me that if I did not become a "public charge" — that is, if I had assets on which to live — they would give me sanctuary. I would not be deported even at the expiration of permits or passports. I assured him that my personal assets were sufficient to maintain me for an extended period.

I GO TO PIESTANY

At the suggestion of Mracna, I arranged to live in Piestany, a health resort about sixty miles from Bratislava which is famed for its hot baths. It was far enough from the capital that the German military officials or Gestapo agents were not prowling around. Although the Republic maintained its own police and defense force, judiciary, customs and immigration officials — no one arriving or departing without their sanction — there seemed to be a tacit agreement that the German military and legation officials could come there for extended holidays. They came mainly for food and drink, which were almost non-existent in Germany and Austria at that time.

Piestany is world famed. The baths — mud and hot pools — are beneficial for those with rheumatism, arthritis and other ills. Before the war there were visitors from as far away as India, Africa and both North and South America. The two largest hotels — one on an island of the Vah River, and on which are the hot springs — had been taken over and operated by the Interior Department of the Slovak State.

Soon after I went there as a voluntary "internee," Piestany became the headquarters of many involuntary internees of the Slovak Government. First to arrive were twenty-six — including the children — of the Italian diplomatic corps in Bratislava. The Italian Minister, Cortese, had declared his allegiance to the anti-Mussolini, or Badoglio government, which joined forces with the Western Allies. Naturally, he and his entire staff who shared his sympathies were anathema to the Germans. With the setting up of the Fascist forces in Northern Italy, pressure was brought to bear on Slovakia to deport the anti-Fascists to the northern part of Italy which was still occupied by Germany and cooperating with it.

TISO, THE HUMANITARIAN

But, contrary to generally circulated statements that President Tiso was a puppet of Germany, he definitely refused to listen to the suggestions or demands of the Germans, nor would he consent to the Italian Legation staff being interned in Germany, which was a

later idea of the Germans. So within six weeks of my taking up residence in the Grand Royal Hotel in Piestany as a lone "internee," twenty-six Italians moved in together with two attaches of the Slovak Foreign Office as guardians or "watchers."

Two of the arrivals were Count Giovanni Revedin and his American-born wife with whom I had become acquainted previously. The question was put to the Countess and the Foreign Office "guardians" "Are internees being held incommunicado?" The answer was no. I was not restrained from associating with them.

Internment in Piestany was not so onerous for them, because, unofficially, Slovakia was more pro-Allied than pro-Axis. It is doubtful if any of the Allied countries were as considerate of interned subjects of an "enemy" nation as Slovakia was for those of the Italian Diplomatic corps, now no longer officially welcome. Later on arrived some from the Rumanian and Bulgarian legations also.

They were quartered at the government's expense in one of the country's best hotels, permitted to retain their motor cars, though restricted in the use of them. If, however, any member of the corps found it necessary to go to Bratislava, some sixty miles distant, the Foreign Office representative granted permission. Usually it was for a trip there and return the same day.

Otherwise they were free — as was the case with myself — to roam all about the countryside, to nearby villages, to go fishing, bathing in the splendid pool in summer or in the Vah River and getting what relaxation they might need by attending the local movie theatres, using the skating rinks in winter and the tennis courts in summer. Since they were cut off from their sources of income, the Slovak government advanced them a small amount of spending money at regular intervals, paid hospital bills for those who required such hospitalization, and very large fees for specialists who performed operations on some members of the group.

It was convenient for me that friends with diplomatic immunity were there. The manuscripts on which I was then working would have ticketed me into one of the Nazi concentration camps had they fallen into their hands. But Count Revedin as well as members of the Minister's family kept them in their possession — safe from search and seizure.

Another who had taken sanctuary there was Siegfried Geyer, a dramatist well known in Germany, Austria and Hungary, whose plays had been performed in Switzerland, Sweden, London and New York. One of his comedies, "Candle Light," was presented in London where it ran for a year. Later it was brought to New York, where it had some success, then was purchased by Warner Brothers and filmed, as were other of his plays.

TISO NOT AN ANTI-SEMITES

The purge of Jews in Austria forced Geyer to flee into Slovakia where he was given presidential permission to remain. That same permission was granted to others I knew personally. One of them was an official of the Slovak travel bureau and another was an engineer for the resort and health department who resided with his wife in Piestany and whom I visited many times. Another was a physician attached to the government hospital. Hence the base accusations of

anti-Semitism that were hurled against Tiso — when the Reds demanded his death — were false and easily proven to be nothing but falsehoods.

Siegfried Geyer and I were working daily on some manuscripts. Through underground communication I had been warned that military forces were to occupy the country. Two nights later the wife of a Slovak cabinet minister came to inform me that in a few hours the Germans would be in Piestany. Geyer was with me at the time. He felt that it was his death knell.

It was two weeks or more before any action was taken toward deportation of the Jews. On the night of September 8, 1944, Geyer left me, saying that we would meet at eleven in the morning. I never saw him again. Through an acquaintance I learned that he was picked off the street the morning after leaving me and was carted away in a blue motor van. Three others of my acquaintances vanished the same day. For years they had found sanctuary and in many instances exceptional employment in the Slovak Republic, and this is asserted in direct contradiction of generally circulated propaganda by pressure groups that President Tiso and his cabinet members aided in the extermination of the Jews.

WAR COMES TO SLOVAKIA — GERMANS TAKE OVER

In the sixteen months of my residence there, before the German occupation I had observed growing resentment against their powerful neighbor. Now it became more bitter though the people were prudent enough not to make any outward sign of it. A pigmy does not force a quarrel with a giant.

The Italian diplomatic internees merited the attention of the German occupation officials. First their motor cars were impounded. Then they were moved to the other hotel on an island in the Vah River, the two bridges across the river being circled with barricades and sentries posted at each end. A curfew edict went into effect and miles of barbed wire barriers were thrown around the city. Trenches and embankments were dug on three sides of the city, field telephones and power cables being strung along the streets and far into the country side. This front was to be held at all costs — so it was said. Slovakia now began to realize that all war fronts were closing in on her. For over five years they had hoped and prayed that this destruction would not be visited on them. But now it was at their door.

The morning following the German occupation I went to the office of Inspector Vavro of the Slovak police. Previously when my twelve month residence permit had expired I had sought him. He merely smiled at my fears. "Are you losing any sleep over it?" he asked. "Go away from here. I've forgotten you're in Piestany."

An "enemy" subject, which technically I was, could not hope for greater consideration.

But now Vavro was no longer in complete authority. His advice, however, was the same as before. "Didn't I tell you long ago that I've forgotten that you are here?" he said. "Return to your house and stay out of sight for a while. My report with your name on it has been conveniently mislaid. It will be some time before the Germans find you."

Three days later men visited me, saying that they were with the German State Police. There was the usual routine questioning. Identification papers; occupation; since what date and why was I residing in the country? What is contained in the luggage and what is in the mass of manuscripts, papers, etc.?

Joseph Mracna had given me a letter to be shown at just such times. It came into view and served to substantiate my statement that the Slovak authorities were acquainted with the contents of my bulging brief case. After a thorough search of the place in which they found no radio, camera, weapons, photographs or other suspicious appearing articles, the three men departed.

Tension throughout the country was becoming more noticeable. Reports filtering through from the eastern boundaries of the country were terrifying. The Germans, being forced westward, forced all the villagers to evacuate with them — or be shot. Their houses were burned. But before doing so they were stripped of everything in the way of metal. Door hinges, locks, farm machinery, tools and implements were taken away.

Long convoys of half starved and bedraggled evacuees from the eastern side of Slovakia and also from Hungary moved westward by wagon and on foot. Sometimes for eight or ten hours at a time those wretched and homeless people were coming at snail's pace over the hills, through the fringe of Piestany, and then vanished over the western horizon.

"LIBERATION" BY THE REDS

But even worse fate awaited those who eluded the German evacuation decrees. The Red "liberators" advancing into the eastern areas of Slovakia confiscated what might have been overlooked by the Germans. They rounded up and deported children; no one seemed to know where. It was rumored they were sent to Russia. So between the plague of Germany, and the terrorists of the Soviet, poor little Slovakia had little to choose. They were caught between two enemies.

Pressure was brought to bear on the Slovak government to hand the interned diplomats over to Germany. I took a message for them to the Swiss Consulate in Bratislava, for transmission to the outside world. It was hoped that if publicity was given their plight in the Swiss and other neutral papers, it would have some reaction, and also become known to the Allied authorities.

The messages and reports in Switzerland did perhaps serve to alter the announced intention of the Germans to deliver the Italians into the hands of the Mussolini faction in North Italy, who might have shot them as traitors. Instead they were sent first to Vienna and then to Silesia.

American flyers who made forced landings or were shot down over Slovakia were taken in hand by the Slovak authorities. Those who required hospitalization were given the best the capital afforded — which was excellent. Karol Murin told me on one of my visits to the Palace that, on instructions from President Tiso, he and his wife sought out the American prisoners in the hospitals to see that nothing was left undone for their comfort. Even bouquets of flowers were sent to brighten their rooms.

What a contrast from the shameful treatment that was accorded President Tiso, Karol Murin and members of their cabinet when they voluntarily sought sanctuary in the American zone of occupation. More on this will follow.

The Germans ended all the consideration and special attention that was given war prisoners. The German military officials took them, as well as many Slovaks, despite protests from the President and Foreign Minister, Stephen Tiso. Again it was a case of the pigmy and the giant. Might was right.

The story of the ghastly occupation and betrayal will be told later.

THE BEGINNING OF THE END

On New Year's Eve of 1945 I was with friends in Piestany. The forbidden (by the Germans) broadcasts of the London radio were turned on for the latest news in Czech, German and English. Also that evening Adolf Hitler broadcast a brief greeting to der Deutscher Volk — his "friends." Some of the listeners insisted that it was not Hitler's voice. Others expressed the opinion that it was "der Führer" but a very much changed voice. It was generally believed that the attempted assassination of six months previously had left some permanent impairment. During the latter part of 1944 motion pictures of him — which was unusual — were always taken at a distance and there was a noticeable awkwardness of one arm. It was rumored that he sustained other injuries.

The London radio gave lengthy discussions on the plans for the liberation and rehabilitation of Central Europe. We assumed that there was complete accord among the Allied Powers and that the views and opinions expressed represented those of the United States. The plans were those of the Red dominated group of Edward Benes and foretold the disaster that was inevitable. Anyone with even the most meagre knowledge of European history knew that the rulers of the Kremlin hoped to dominate and absorb all the Slav people.

Therefore, it was alarming for the people in Central Europe to observe the manner in which the Allied Powers permitted the Soviet to occupy the Balkans, move up into Hungary and then sweep into Slovakia. As my friends in Piestany and Bratislava pointed out repeatedly, the Allied Powers, and particularly America, should have remembered what happened in the Baltic states, in Finland and in Poland. It was the pattern of Red absorption and complete control, once they planted foot on the soil of a country. The only exception was that of Spain — the single country where the Communists suffered military defeat. Official Washington, let us remember also, was cooperative with the Communist terrorists in Spain at that time — regardless of the denials that some of the hierarchy of the elect now wish to read into the record. Moscow's designs in Spain, in the Baltic states, in the Balkans and now in Central Europe were so obvious as the Pyramids on the Sahara. The military occupation was but the prelude to permanent incorporation into the Red orbit.

After the Red army occupied Budapest, which for centuries had been a bastion of Christianity against the anti-Christian forces on the East, it left only Bratislava as the important city of the Danube between Budapest and Vienna. Millions of kronen in materials and mil-

lions of man-power hours were expended on the defenses. The Eastern Front, it seemed, would soon be in our front yards.

When the day and night booming of artillery began to be heard in Piestany, many felt it wise to move westward. A family I knew in Bratislava had obtained a motor truck and fuel — two precious things — intending to flee into southern Bavaria. By phone from Piestany I arranged to share space in the Bavaria-bound truck. But when I arrived there by train from Piestany the truck had already left. Now, where to go or what to do?

Huge artillery pieces were being wheeled through the streets westward. German military supplies in motor cars and wagons trundled westward. Cattle and horses were being driven in the direction of Vienna. It is doubtful if they got far along that road before the Red army captured and butchered them.

OFF TO PRAGUE

An acquaintance advised me to leave for Prague as rail transport was still operating in that direction. When I inquired about visa or permit to enter the "Protectorate" and official's secretary informed me that "the bars are down; you may go anywhere you can obtain transportation."

At the railway station I got a ticket for Prague. A train was scheduled to leave that evening about six. The station was a seething mad-house. Pandemonium, orderly confusion, hundreds of terror-stricken people with hundreds of bags, bundles and babies trying to get somewhere — anywhere. In the black-out, long after six o'clock, there was an air-raid warning. Police herded people into a vast underground shelter that had been tunnelled into a rocky hill across the railway tracks. More confusion, anxiety and wondering if we would ever get out of the stricken city.

The train — scheduled for six o'clock — left in the thickening blackness of the night about eleven. People were packed in to suffocation. At a town called Cuty, on the frontier, I transferred to another train that landed me in Brno, now Czechoslovakia, about eight in the morning. After snatching four hours sleep at the Grand Hotel, I contrived to board (without the special military permit) an express train which landed me in Prague about midnight.

All train service into Slovakia ended the morning after I departed. Had I delayed a few hours longer the Reds would have included me in their spreading net of "liberation."

Even the most unobservant person must have sensed the uneasiness of the Germans then in Prague. Czechs and the evacuees from Slovakia, Hungary and Poland knew it was but a matter of weeks or days when the American and British forces would be in Berlin. That meant the end of the war, but what then?

Every day motor trucks and cars of all kinds were being loaded with household goods, cats, dogs, bird cages, German women and children. Then at evening they rolled off into the darkness. Branches of trees or other camouflaging was used to disguise the vehicles as much as possible. They did not chance mass movements of evacuees in daylight hours.

REVOLUTION AND REVENGE

Friday evening, May Fourth, marked the beginning of the uprising against six long years of German dictatorship. A mysterious and ominous atmosphere pervaded Prague. Crowds began converging in Wenzelsplatz — as it was then called. For what? No one seemed to know. Something was to happen. A revolution was in the making.

Little by little things occurred. Men, women and boys began defacing German words on the fronts of business establishments. They commenced to alter the street signs — which were in dual language — Czech and German. The electric trams were halted by the crowd.

Then matters became more serious. Sirens screamed, military cars pushed through the crowds, commands were barked over the loud speakers in the square. Small armoured tanks rolled into view. A pistol shot, a woman's scream, crowds surging back against the walls and the rattle of machine guns.

Four days and nights the battle continued. The Prague radio remained in Czech hands and was their greatest asset. Pleas from it were directed to the American forces, said to be thirty, then twenty, then ten miles away.

Professor Matousek, director of the station, would beg in broken English for them to hurry. The Stars and Stripes waved from the tops of buildings and in many windows. An enthusiastic welcome would be given their liberators. The question asked by hundreds was: "When do you think the Americans will get here?"

Little did they know then that they would never arrive. That Prague and the Czechs, together with the millions of Slovaks, had been sold down-river by Eduard Benes in a secret deal entered into with Stalin. A deal that had the benediction of Franklin D. Roosevelt who was even then loudly prating about saving the Western World from the Nazi destroyers of Christianity, only to be consigned to the Soviet, the greatest destroyers and enemies of Christian civilization since the Crucifixion.

THE SAD AWAKENING

On the sixth day of the revolution in which hundreds of lives and millions in property was destroyed, General Vlassoff's troopers were slinking along the shattered fronts of buildings in Wenzelsplatz. These were the Russians, mostly from the Ukraine, who had first been equipped by the Germans to fight the Communists. Now they turned on the Germans and were helping to drive them out of Prague.

The thought came to me at the time: what will be the fate of these political pawns? They followed their leader, General Vlassoff against the Bolshevik terrorists, then they remained with him when he turned against the Germans. Would the Allied nations give them sanctuary and a chance to live? They did not.

General Vlassoff was delivered to the Moscow "liberators" just as was President Tiso and his cabinet. After a mock trial that followed the pattern of all Red trials, Vlassoff was put before a firing squad. But what is the fate of the simple Russian farmer's boy — hundreds of them — who wore a uniform and carried a rifle, or drove a team of horses pulling a wagon load of supplies to aid in the war for the West? Any number of them were liquidated and others are

now slaves in Siberia. Not being articulate their story is never heard. And who delivered them to death or slavery? The same ones who delivered the Slovaks to the Communists at Teheran and Yalta.

By the end of the sixth or seventh day there came into the minds of the beleaguered people of Prague as well as the hundreds of Slovak, Polish and Hungarian evacuees, the suspicion that the Americans were not coming. When for days the American forces did not advance a step, but on the contrary moved away from the city, they knew that something of a Machiavelian nature had taken place behind the scenes. That they had been sold into bondage. All the pious words and pretty promises that had been made about guaranteeing their liberation — were just so many empty words.

It became obvious that political tricksters had ordained in secret conferences that Czecho-Slovakia was to be handed into the Red orbit. It was against every tenet of their beliefs, particularly the Slovaks, who were avowed and militant foes of the Communist ideology and who with their then president, Joseph Tiso, had said they would fight to the last man. Now they realized that they were being consigned to Red domination.

After another day of intermittent bombing and shell fire those of us in Prague heard a jubilant news announcer on the London radio assure us that "the war in Europe is over." That same inaccurate statement came from the American operated radio stations in Germany and France and synchronized, ironically enough, with the staccato barking of machine guns that raked Wenzelsplatz and the occasional deep toned thunder of an aerial bomb or German shell that exploded somewhere too near for comfort.

For the people of Czecho-Slovakia the war was not over. We knew in the promises of the Western Powers, had been abandoned to the then that the Czechs and Slovaks, also the Hungarians, the Poles and the other people of Christian nations, who had placed their faith in benign brutalities and tyranny of Joseph Stalin. Influences in Washington had labored zealously to aid the Kremlin's effort for world-wide destruction of Christian civilization, and the Slovaks were another pawn in the game. Proof of that influence and citations of those, who were instrumental in inflicting that ruin on Central Europe, have already been written into the public records.

Slovakia had enjoyed a measure of freedom only to have it snatched away and her people consigned to oppression, spoliation and deportation, far more ghastly than any they had endured in past history.

But their faith in God and their determination to fight on has remained.

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WHO SAID IT? — "We are children of freedom. We cannot be safe except in an environment of freedom. We believe in freedom as fundamentally as we believe anything in this world. We believe in it for everyone in our country. And we don't restrict this belief to freedom for ourselves. We believe that all people in the world are entitled to as much freedom, to develop in their own way, as we want ourselves." — (Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, April 22, 1950).

DR. JOSEPH TISO

Priest, Teacher, President and National Hero of the Slovak Nation

Dr. Joseph Tiso, war-time president of the Slovak Republic, was born October 13, 1887, in Veľká Bytča, Slovakia. After completing his elementary training, he studied in Žilina and Nitra, then completed his theological studies in Vienna. He was ordained priest in 1910 and a year later attained the degree of Doctor of Theology.

Father Tiso served as chaplain in Oščadnica, Rajec, and Bánovce. In 1914 he served in the army as field chaplain and in 1915 was named spiritual director of the seminary at Nitra and professor of religion at the college and high school there. In 1918 he was appointed professor of theology. In 1921, he was honored by the Holy Father with the title of Monsignor; this was a first in Slovak history.

Msgr. Joseph Tiso was very active as an organizer and writer. He was imprisoned twice by the government for "anti-state" activities, the general term for anything that did not coincide with the political ideology of the government. While incarcerated Dr. Tiso translated several apologetic works into Slovak. Father Tiso was truly a man of his people and for his people. He strained every effort to elevate them spiritually and materially.

In 1924 Dr. Joseph Tiso became pastor of the church at Bánovce and served the spiritual and temporal needs of the people there until he was imprisoned in 1945. As a member of Hlinka's People's Party, he was elected to parliament in 1925 and in 1927 was appointed Minister of Health and Physical Culture by the Masaryk regime.

Dr. Tiso was instrumental in electing Dr. Beneš president of Czecho-Slovakia in 1935. The Slovaks had about enough of the Masaryk and Beneš regimes at that time, but Dr. Tiso used his oratorical skill to persuade the Hlinka members of parliament to vote for him. Without the 30 votes of the Hlinka People's Party Dr. Beneš never would have been elected President.

Dr. Tiso visited America only once; that was in 1937 when he came as a member of a delegation of the Society of St. Adalbert, Slovakia's greatest Catholic publishing house.

When Slovakia was granted autonomy on October 6, 1938, the Prague government named Dr. Tiso president of the autonomous Slovak government. The following year, when Czechoslovakia collapsed completely, the Slovak parliament declared the independence of Slovakia on March 14. The parliament elected Dr. Joseph Tiso president of the independent Slovak Republic on October 26, 1939.

Under Tiso's guidance Slovakia fared quite well even during the war years. He saved whatever he could for his nation. Even his political enemies admit that. When the wild Red armies were rushing toward Bratislava, Dr. Joseph Tiso and the Slovak Government withdrew to Kremsmünster, Austria, where they formally surrendered to the U. S. Army. At the insistence of the provisional Czecho-Slovak

government, the U. S. Department of State ordered the U. S. Army authorities in Austria to surrender Tiso and his group to the Czecho-Slovak War Crimes Commission. In November 1945 Dr. Tiso and members of the Slovak government were delivered to Czecho-Slovak authorities as war criminals, though their status was never investigated by the U. S. authorities.

From Prague Dr. Tiso and several of his group were sent to Bratislava to stand trial before the National Court. The trial began December 2, 1946, and ended March 14, 1947. Sentence was pronounced by the Court on April 15, and Father Tiso, reciting the rosary out loud, was led to the gallows at 5:30 a. m. on April 19, 1947; he was pronounced dead seven minutes later. Slovaks the world over agree with Father Tiso's aged mother: Dr. Tiso died a martyr for the cause of his people and his Church.

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PRESIDENT TISO'S LAST MESSAGE TO HIS PEOPLE

"In the spirit of the sacrifice I am about to make, I send this message to the Slovak nation:

"In harmony and unison pursue always, everywhere and in every respect the great principle: **FOR GOD AND FOR THE NATION.**

"That is not only the unequivocal intent of Slovak history, but also the explicit command of God, Who has made it the law of nature and has inculcated it into the soul of the nation and every one of its members.

"That precept I have served all my life and, therefore, I consider myself first of all a martyr of God's law. Secondly, I feel that I am a martyr of the defense of Christianity against bolshevism, against which our nation must in all possible ways defend itself, not only in the spirit of its Christian character, but also in the interest of its future.

"As I beg you to remember me in your prayers, so do I promise to pray to God Almighty for you and supplicate that He bless the Slovak nation in its vital struggle for God and for the nation, so that the Slovak nation will always remain a faithful and devoted son of the Church of Christ."

Bratislava, April 18, 1947, 3 a. m.

DR. JOSEPH TISO.

AN HONOR IN SLOVAK SEPARATISM

By E. W., an American Student of Central European Politics

The above title should not cause surprise and if it causes talk, then its main purpose is accomplished. Slovak and Czech friends, permit an American who has learned your languages and history to throw a few comments into the slowly-but-surely boiling pot now termed "separatism." Curiosity aroused by friends of both nationalities has propelled me headlong into reference books, newspaper research, etc., from the time of SS. Cyril and Methodius to the present to "look the ground over" of this old question with a new face dealing with independent statehood for both nations.

The study of the past and observation of today's events boil down to the plain fact that neither nation fared too well down the centuries while being tied to another, even in the present-day tie of two people closely related to each other. Even in a family where two brothers go into a partnership it must be understood that to succeed neither must try to get ahead of the other; either both must proceed together or both must remain at an even pace. Otherwise, one will soon "lord it" over the other. Now in the Slovak and Czech issue, very frankly, both have a list of grievances against the Czechoslovak republic, though it is most obvious that the Slovak list is much, much longer. And that, breeding discontent and an unhealthy atmosphere, long ago signaled the time for a termination of all relationships before it comes to blows. In fact, that time did come and the Slovaks did get the opportunity for self-rule, but world affairs engulfed and finally ruined the little state and brought it to former surveillance.

The logical conclusion now, when the fight for freedom is again essential, is to have each nation go its own way, live peacefully apart and still be good friends. Actually, two relatives can always be better friends by going to two separate City Halls, churches, markets, etc. Furthermore, it is only inherent in every creature as in every nation to be independent, for only in that way can its political, economic and spiritual rights be freely exercised and protected. Two cooks in one kitchen never did too well except to mess it up, and even worse when one gets the honors and the other peels the potatoes. There is no progress in such a system for both, but only for one. Matter of fact, it amazes an outsider that two peoples of such greatly different temperaments ever did go into such a partnership. The only apparent reason seems to be that the Slovaks after centuries of oppression thought that the Czechs might give them a better deal. The irony was, however, that the Slovak never did get a fair deal, for the big-hearted, good, though a bit naive soul, was made a fool of at every occasion. No Slovak who went to a federal office building after 1918 will ever forget when he asked for something and was told in sing-song fashion "nelze vyhověti; mluve po česky" ("Can't help you; speak in Czech"). But that belongs to the list of grievances, for which the good Czech people are not responsible, but only their regime which milked the good Slovak cow and insulted it too.

The Slovaks apparently feel confident enough, as I'm sure all good Czechs do, to try a little country of their own for a change. They feel they can succeed at it. And they did from 1939—1945. Since they are certain that they can run their own government, carry on sound economics internally and in outside trade, not be afraid to be little in the midst of big odds, etc., then why should the larger Bohemia have anything to fear in being a country on its own? However, and this from the record, Bohemia herself was never afraid for she was always the leader, but only a certain group of her degenerate, office-seeking, renegade "leaders" do not want Bohemia independent, for then there would be less titles and more centralized work (what that breed never liked), and then there would be no Slovakia to rule and from which to take "for free," because then they would have to pay for everything in fair trade. Yes, the fear is not in good Czechs, but in some poor ex-leaders who would hate to lose Slovakia, the happy hunting ground for food, labor, graft and taxes.

The ill-begotten, Benes-betrayed republic, according to this renegade group, should continue to exist, holding two unwilling nations in bondage to a regime that dared call itself democratic and progressive. How democratic was that regime when a Slovak had no word in it? How progressive was it when it curbed every desire for Slovak independence and wanted to pave the streets of Bratislava with Slovak heads should same attempt at freedom be made?

The greatest lie of the century was the claim that Czechoslovakia was democratic. Apparently the word sounded good but they didn't know just what it meant. And the fact that "equal" partner Slovakia was held as a colony and exploited proves the fact. Those who fought and still fight against Slovak independence are the backward, undemocratic ones, and those who fight for Slovak freedom are the truly democratic and progressive ones.

This small Czech imperialistic group has also coined the word "Czechoslovak." Since God never did create such a species of man, it is a barefaced insult to Him (but then they didn't believe in Him) and an insult to every Czech to be called half a Czech and half a Slovak for the same reason. The whole idea is ridiculous biologically and morally, as well. Of course, the title is a pure, underhanded political scheme to attempt assimilation of the Slovaks by the Czechs. Had this group any foresight, they would have understood that such attempts at assimilation do not work anywhere on earth except in America where dozens of nations makes it expedient and even beneficial to assume one name of identification. But in a republic of only two nations, and particularly in a land where both nations never did have too much freedom for centuries, the scheme smells of subordination of one nation to another or elimination of both to create a new breed. That only creates contempt and aversion. Consequently, that bright idea has helped to create a good bit of ill-feeling. Equality is misconstrued in such a case, because the true concept of equality lies not in adopting the name of another nation but in retaining your own and being able to go just as far with it as your neighbor. In any case, however, the Slovaks stubbornly refused to be assimilated by the Czechs.

Next, this same group goes further in the game of antagonizing, but not shaming the Slovaks, by coining another word "separatist" and "separatism" by which they think they will abuse all freedom-loving Slovaks and, perhaps, squelch their movement for independence. Another ridiculous title which is so wrong morally, and which causes more aversion towards the old regime than a desire to come back to the fold. And, to attempt to squelch or ridicule any attempts for justified independence is morally wrong, for it is a God-given right to fight for freedom from evil, in fact, it is a patriotic duty to demand freedom.

The "Czechoslovak" group apparently fails to comprehend that the Slovaks will never be contented in a republic with another nation, regardless of who that might be, after they have tasted some freedom, and there will always be discontentment with which they will always have to contend, and which will only be a whip for their own backs. Apparently, besides a lack of comprehension of the real situation, they also fail to admit this truth to themselves and follow through on the obvious and the apparent. The Slovaks have had enough of subjugation, in any form; they do not wish to be a colony; they wish to "fly alone and fly right."

This separatist movement, then, will go on until kingdom come so long as Slovaks keep hoping and praying for freedom and independence. The boil has long been ripe but always there were world affairs and new terrors which forced domestic problems into the background. First the Nazis and then the Commies. But after that the current discontentment will sweep away every trace of a republic of two nations. The Slovaks and Czechs abroad will work out their individual states and elect their own governments, but some of the groundwork can and should be done here to pave a favorable impression and reception for the two little countries into the western world when the time comes for the debut.

In the meantime, the group of "Czechoslovak" agitators is running high fever to stem the tide of separatism and attempt to kill it before Communism is cleaned out. And their chief weapon apparently is hostile propaganda, abuse and every trick to discredit Slovak leaders here and abroad and, particularly, in front of the United Nations and our own American government. To be a separatist is termed by them a crime, and some foolish people believe them, as do some uninformed American officials who at present are too preoccupied with our own affairs to get the facts on the Slovaks. However, that will pass too, and then there will be time to study the matter of the small nations. Communism is our first problem today and internal disputes must come second for a while. This apparently makes the "Czechoslovak" feel confident that it will always be second and that Washington is sold and fooled by their propaganda for the renewal of the old republic. But that is only for the time being, definitely.

However, when there will be time to think of small nations and their battles, there will then be time to find the Slovak truth and both Czech and Slovak aversion towards the renewal of a joint republic. How absolutely ridiculous the "Czechoslovak" group will

look when the facts are analyzed and they find they have been abusing and discrediting an honorable thing.

If separatism is a crime, they will then be told, and right in Washington, what awful criminals our forefathers were when they struggled under the British and went to war against them; what ugly fanatics they were when they met and wrote up the list of grievances against Great Britain and finally the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution which formed this great and wonderful America. — Separatists of the first class!

And it is the same wonderful America, founded by separatists, which has given a home to such as they and protects their wild propaganda under the article of freedom of speech even when they abuse those who also fight for freedom from a regime worse than the old English crown because it functioned in a more modern, civilized age. In abusing a Slovak desire for independence, they openly tell the whole world that after all these years, America had no right to independence from Britain. They also abuse the memory of our honorable, brave and farsighted colonists, and even Washington who led them, for having laid the foundation for the greatest nation in the world. Conclusively, the Americans of 1776 were the greatest separatists on the face of the earth when they wrote the Declaration of Independence. How bigoted can the "Czechoslovaks" be and just how blind can they be?

What trouble-making separatists were the French with all their revolutions, and the Irish, and the Israelis, and hosts of others who waged wars for years until their voice in the wilderness was heard. Now that they have won their independence, we praise them for their patience, bravery and do all we can to help them and welcome them into our world of free nations. It is a pity, though, that all such separatists have to work so hard, pay such great prices for their freedom, when their partners could have granted them their liberty from the start, and instead of becoming an enemy could have been a benefactor and friend immediately.

Look around, you who are separatists, Czechs and Slovaks, and see how separatism is going on today in every field for a better world, and how much glorious history has been made by separatists through the centuries, for it is they who turn the wheels of progress. It is the separatist from the standard scheme that is enterprising, progressive and democratic in every field. And yet, according to your own papers, the "Czechoslovaks" claim that the separatists are not democratic, progressive, etc. The fact that they are separatists proves otherwise, and the ones who retard their progress are the dull conservatives, dictatorial and contradictory. Hence, separatists, your lot is a glorious and an honorable one. There is no shame in wanting freedom, rather it is a duty to fight for it, even when your own kind curb it and attempt to discredit you. That, as all things, will pass, and at least by the law of averages, with your efforts, the Slovaks must be free some day. The day is at your fingertips to name and realize. Read your own history and that of this land, and you will find it full of freedom-loving people as yourself. There is no shame, then, in being a separatist, and this applies to both Slovaks and Czechs.

The Czechs must free themselves of their own leaders who have betrayed them and led them into chaos; and they should prepare now to rise with new leaders, true Czechs, who are interested in their own people and not with affiliations with powers who would swallow them up. Let them also prove that they do not need Slovakia, that they can subsist without her, and that they can truly be sisters and exemplary nations. Leave the renegades and weaklings behind, and forge ahead into new horizons, not back to stale systems that will hurt all over again. Come up with new leaders, fresh leaders, progressive leaders who aren't afraid to live alone. A separatist movement should be as strong among Czechs as among the Slovaks. Form two nations as friends, not one republic as enemies.

And, to those that want the old republic and are waiting to resume office, and to those who trumpet this false ideology on reams and reams of paper to keep such a degenerate idea alive, consider how foolish you sound now when you think you abuse good people by calling them separatists and think you are pinning a crime to their backs when actually you are flattering them and placing them into a glorious classification. Consider how even more foolish you will feel when all your evil, dirty work of discrediting will itself be discredited and separatism will after all win out and produce something decent and fine which the old republic was not capable of doing. And above all, you are not only politically but also morally wrong, as are all who curb movements for freedom. The separatists are the real democrats and progressives, for it is they who want freedom and democracy and not you who want to bind two nations into an outdated and hated republic. Yours is only a cause of contradiction and stubborn hate to preserve something that is rotten from the core. For every move to stamp out independent ideas you only acquire new enemies, and the more enemies the more stronger the separatists; and the more of those, the sooner two independent countries will be formed. Any decent Czech will tell you that the old republic was a mistake and "just not right," and any decent Slovak, by God-inspired love of country, automatically wants independence for his nation. What percentage then do you really have in your camp? 5 per cent or even less? And a Gallup poll is not needed to realize that, inherently, the Slovak wants his own government and country! Any Slovak that wants the old Czechoslovak republic is a twisted and spoiled breed that, frankly, even the Czechs of the old regime should not care to associate with and form a partnership with. That renegade type, with shame must be admitted, count up to a fraction of one percent of all Slovaks, no more. It is amazing and fantastic, that with this tiny group then, the old regime wants to form a republic.

How will they contend with the rest?

Satan himself has walked about the earth sowing dissension and oppression. Those who curb freedom and abuse those who fight for it, must once reap Satan's trash.

The floor of every hall is yours, separatists, and the movement is yours to complete and the fruits of independence will be yours to enjoy. This is the exhortation of an American whose studies prove you have a cause — a just and holy cause.

WHAT THEY SAID ABOUT TISO

"By executing Dr. Tiso, priest-president of wartime Slovakia, the Czechoslovak government of Dr. Beneš has turned the clock of civilization back a few centuries in Czecho-Slovakia. The murder of this gallant and upright Slovak leader and exemplary priest, who remained with his people under the most trying conditions, by Dr. Edward Beneš, who resigned as president of his country and surrendered it 'in toto' to the Nazis, must shock every Christian and every believer in the democratic way of life. The infamous act of the Beneš government rightfully deserves the severest condemnation of all righteous people." — Stephen Šuhajčík, Councilman Second Ward, Cleveland, Ohio, April 1947.

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"MURDER IN SLOVAKIA"

(From the speech of Hon. Alvin E. O'Konski of Wisconsin, in the House of Representatives, Wednesday, April 23, 1947).

Mr. Speaker, the recent hanging by the Communists of Czechoslovakia of the brave and gallant Monsignor Joseph Tiso was murder in its most ghastly and shameful form. . . .

But the hanging of Monsignor Tiso itself is not the greatest tragedy. The greatest tragedy is the silence by our American President and by our American State Department while this murder was going on. Our Government gave the Czechoslovakian Government hundreds of million of dollars in the past two years. We are going to give them millions of dollars more. Yet, with this giving of millions of dollars to the Government of Czechoslovakia, our President and our State Department are not even men enough to stand up and protest against this murder by the Soviets. All of this leads me to believe that the leaders of our country in the White House and in our State Department no longer understand the meaning of the term "honor."

Monsignor Tiso is dead. He was murdered. While he was murdered America was silent. The day is not very far distant when these American leaders will regret their silence. The day may come and may be too soon when these leaders who were so shamefully silent will be treated the same way that Monsignor Tiso and Bishop Stepanic and General Mihailovitch were treated. Then maybe there will be protests. But then it will be too late.

Frankly, I do not think America could have saved the life of Monsignor Tiso. But I am ashamed that my country did not even have the decency and honor to file a protest — just for the record. By some miracle such a protest might have at least postponed the execution. Here in America our officials grant our basest criminals a stay of execution. The least that our national leaders could have done is file a plea for the same consideration for a Christian lover of freedom — Monsignor Tiso — whose only crime was that he hated Communism just as he hated nazism. But America remains silent and murder has free sway.

BENEŠ: KING OF POLITICAL CHEATS

At the meeting of the Czech-Sudeten German Federal Committee at Bonn, last December, General Prchala, chairman of the Czech National Committee in London, declared that he considered the expulsion of Sudeten Germans from their motherland as the darkest chapter in Czech history.

It was a dark chapter, a crime equalled only by Hitler's attempt to exterminate the Jews. About half a million Sudeten Germans lost their lives. The Czech Revolutionary Guards, composed of youngsters whose parents were imprisoned or executed by the Gestapo during the war, employed a thoroughly Nazi brutality against the Sudeten Germans. These wild youngsters were given a free hand by the Beneš Government in Prague. They committed such atrocities, mostly on innocent people, that it is disgusting even to write about it.

It was beyond understanding how the British and U. S. Governments, which were responsible for the existence of the so-called Czechoslovakian exiled Government, could give their approval to the barbarous expulsion of Sudeten Germans, who in 1918 became Czechoslovakian citizens against their will.

A young Czech student of history, Mr. S. Brzobohaty, took the trouble to find out why and when the Western Allies gave their consent to such barbarity. **And he discovered that it never happened.** The story of this political fraud is as follows:

In 1942, Mr. Beneš, who was personally a very revengeful man and believed that the Sudeten Germans were the principal reason of his misfortune which deprived him of the Presidency of Czechoslovakia, asked the British Foreign Office to approve his plan to expel German Nazis from Czechoslovakia after the war. The British Foreign Office had nothing against the expulsion of German Nazis from Czechoslovakia.

Then Beneš visited the Soviet Russian Ambassador to the Czechoslovakian exiled Government and asked him for permission to expel Germans from Czechoslovakia, **and informed him that the British had agreed to it.** Bogomilov informed his Government in Moscow but the Russian Bolsheviks refused to agree with the Beneš plan, for at that time they still believed that there might be some possibility of a separate peace with Germany, and therefore they did not wish to provoke the Germans too much.

In June 1943, Beneš left for Washington, where he had a 30 minute talk with President Roosevelt. He asked him for permission to expel Germans from Czechoslovakia, **and assured Roosevelt that the British and Russians had given their full consent to the plan.** Roosevelt answered that he would not oppose a plan approved by his allies.

Then Beneš returned to London, called again on Bogomilov, and informed him that **the British and U. S. Governments had given their consent to the expulsion of Germans, and that only the Russians were opposing it.** Bogomilov again informed his Government in Moscow. In the meantime the German military situation had worsened, so that Moscow hoped for complete victory in Europe. **And because London**

and Washington took the responsibility for the expulsion of Sudeten Germans, Moscow also gave its consent.

But later, political experts in the U. S. State Department came across the Beneš plan and disagreed. In the material which Stettinius prepared for Roosevelt for Yalta, it was expressly stated that no expulsion of national groups should be permitted. Yalta, however, ended in discord, and this question never came up on the program. The assertion of Beneš and his followers — now organized in the so-called Council of Free Czechoslovakia in Washington — that their allies approved the expulsion of Sudeten Germans is nothing but a colossal political fraud.

This was not the first political fraud perpetrated by Beneš. His whole political career was based upon lies and frauds. Czechoslovakia itself was brought into existence by a political fraud. The Czechs never wanted an independent state, having fought for a century for a reorganization of the Hapsburg Monarchy into a federal state of nations. Masaryk and Beneš had no followers for their adventure in the First World War, at least not among Czechs. All the Czech political parties and legally elected representatives of the Czech nation, during the war, formed the Czech National Committee in Prague, which alone had the right to speak in the name of the Czech nation. On the 14th of January, 1917, this Committee issued a declaration, condemning the war, and Masaryk's adventure abroad, and advocating the autonomous existence of the Czech nation within the Hapsburg Monarchy.

After the first war, in 1925, Beneš published his book, "The World War and Our Revolution," in which he remarked concerning this declaration of the representatives of the Czech nation: "The rejection of our policy was solemn, without any reservation, and decisive." It really was so, because the Czechs did not wish to have anything to do with Masaryk and Beneš. But Mr. Beneš managed it otherwise. On page 449 of the same book Beneš says: "Although this declaration rejected our policy, we managed to explain it in our favor to the public in the ENTENTE. We suppressed the passage about autonomy within the framework of the Hapsburg Monarchy, publishing and emphasizing the passages against the war and for the right of the independent existence of the Czech nation."

This is what Beneš stated himself publicly about his political methods. He was a political cheat and he was proud to be a political cheat. He possessed boundless arrogance in lying and was tireless in cheating. When the British Prime Minister, at the Peace Treaty Conference in 1919, asked about the three million Sudeten Germans, Beneš promised most solemnly that Czechoslovakia would be organized on the Swiss model, thus giving autonomy to each national group. Hardly was the treaty signed than Czech soldiers were ordered to shoot at Sudeten Germans who demanded autonomy. Slovakia was incorporated into Czechoslovakia on the basis of a most solemn promise that it should be a federal state with full Slovakian autonomy, and when the Slovakian leaders asked for the fulfillment of this promise they were imprisoned for high treason.

At the Conference at Genoa, in 1922, Beneš swore eternal fidelity to his French and British benefactors and, behind their backs, and without the knowledge of the Czechoslovakian Government, concluded

a Treaty with the Russian Bolsheviks. His fame abroad was based on money he paid out from the funds of the Czechoslovakian Foreign Ministry to foreign journalists who made propaganda for his person. When the German Nazis occupied Prague, the archives of the Czechoslovakian Foreign Ministry fell into their hands. They published a book containing a list of French, British and American personalities, who were paid by Beneš during Czechoslovakia's twenty years' existence; and photocopies of the receipts signed by these people were also published — for Beneš never gave away a penny without demanding a receipt, thus keeping his foreign agents to heel. The British Foreign Office certainly has a copy of this book, and so has the State Department in Washington.

Beneš proclaimed himself Czechoslovakian President in 1940, and unfortunately received the support of some prominent British people. In order to secure for himself the assistance of the Russian Bolsheviks he rendered them invaluable services during the war. It was he who, in 1939, suggested to Roosevelt the idea that Stalin wished to democratize his regime. He brought and introduced into France, Great Britain, and the U. S. the largest Bolshevik Fifth Column, disguised as "democratic Czechoslovakian refugees."

The present Czechoslovakian Minister of the Interior, Nosek, was during the war counsellor to the Beneš Government in London and was paid from the pockets of British taxpayers to the tune of 70 pounds Sterling a month, tax free. The present chief of the Bolshevik military espionage against Britain, General Lastovicka, was in the B. B. C. during the war. Also here were Beiheller, Slansky, Slinck, and a hundred other Bolshevik agents, all disguised as Czechoslovakian democrats, and all paid by the British taxpayer.

All the Czechs and Slovaks here who were an obstacle to this great fraud of Beneš and his followers were falsely denounced as pro-Nazi and, without investigation, were imprisoned by the British police.

The followers of Beneš are now organized in the so-called Council of Free Czechoslovakia, whose headquarters is in Washington, Czechs, who know this society and, therefore, do not wish to have anything to do with it, are organized in the Czech National Committee in London. In the refugee camp at Murnau, Bavaria (U. S. Zone), there are some adherents of Beneš; the remainder of the refugees are adherents of the Czech National Committee. In one year, the Beneš adherents made 241 denunciations to the U. S. authorities against their opponents. The U. S. authorities investigated all these denunciations and they all proved to be false. The U. S. authorities know the adherents of the Council of Free Czechoslovakia pretty well by now, and they are fed up with them, despite the protection accorded them by certain personalities in the U. S.

But, unfortunately, it is not necessary to go as far as Germany or the U. S. to experience the workings of the new "diplomacy by denunciation." I could draw upon my own experiences to prove it. The British security services appear to be politically uneducated — however efficient they may be in other respects — and, as long as this is so, our King of Fraud or, at least, his Trojan Horse, the Free Czechoslovakian Fifth Column, will continue to graze unharmed in our midst. — (The Czech "Pravda," London, January 1951).

THE SLOVAKS AND THE BENEŠ CZECHS

JOSEPH ORAVSKÝ

On November 14, 1945, Dr. Peter Zenkl, had quite a speech in the Prague National Assembly. A stenographic record notes that he was accorded a thunderous applause when he said: "Never without the Soviet Union, never against the Soviet Union, always solidly with it, side by side."

On December 18, 1943, after the signing of the agreement of "eternal friendship and post-war cooperation" between Prague and Moscow, Dr. Hubert Ripka proclaimed: "Having negotiated an allied agreement with the Soviet Union, we have accomplished a good deed which we can rightfully be proud of. This treaty undoubtedly is one of the foundation stones of the security, the prosperity and the strength of the Republic."

And later, this same Dr. Hubert Ripka, as Minister of Foreign Trade, in an interview with the editor of the NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE in October 1947, openly admitted that the strengthening of economic contacts between the USSR and the Czechoslovak Republic "is not dictated by the communists," and added: "That is my policy."

The well-known politician of Hradčany Castle, Ferdinand Peroutka, in his Czech book "Tak nebo tak," published in 1945 by F. Borový in Prague, appraised the significance of the Bolshevik Revolution scientifically and statesmen-like in this manner: "In 1917 there began a new epoch of mankind. We observe at every step that the Russian Revolution is more than a single State, that it is a world outlook for which men are fighting in all places of the earth" (page 37).

And a year later, writing in "DNEŠEK," June 11, 1946, the same Peroutka expressed his feeling in this manner: "The East, there is our liberator, our ally and our protection in the future . . . If in England there still can be found factors, who show a bigoted hatred for the Soviet Union, then these cannot even be considered as our friends."

These enthusiastic expressions about the Soviet Union, which we have recalled, belong to men who determined and directed the foreign policy of Prague for a long number of years, hand in hand with their political master, Dr. Edward Beneš. Their political master, whom they served so faithfully, became a victim of his own policy. But they remained alive. Every judicious person would suppose and rightfully expect that these glorifiers of the Soviet Union would spend the rest of the years, which still separate them from the grave, in humility and penance. If they flamed with love for everything that the Russian Revolution brought, then it would be wise of them not to walk in broad daylight in the free and democratic world with their love for the Soviet Union. And it would have been proper and more like them if, after living the honeymoon weeks in the embrace of communism, they did not try to offer themselves as modest virgins for the crusade against their old communistic love.

To err is human. And in politics people err frequently. But in the case of these personal and political friends of Beneš, we were and are not concerned with an error of limited, temporary importance and extent. We were and are not concerned with the personal error of an individual, political factor, but with the fundamental error of world

outlook of the whole political caste which, being led by Edward Beneš, determined and gave life to a whole political system. And this system was not invented during the war and post-war years just for the sake of political tactics. Long before World War II, this system was systematically fostered and practiced by Edward Beneš and his leftist companions, and in 1945 it was introduced into the political and state structure only in all its conclusions.

The planners and representatives of this system regarded the incursion of the Soviet Union into Central Europe as their own victory. They could have no reservations for the Soviet Union in 1945, because they had none prior to that time. That is why they rejoiced so spontaneously with Edward Beneš over the advent of the Soviet system into Europe; that is why they had no trouble in collaborating with the communists; and that is why they adapted themselves with such miraculous speed to everything Soviet.

When we quoted the above statements of Zenkl, Peroutka and Ripka, we were not thinking about their personal, human existence, but about the system which they embraced and promoted so vigorously. Whatever they did, they did not do in their names only, but also in the name of the system which reached deeply into practical life and which, after the victory of communism in Central Europe, was identified with it in all fundamental questions.

We Slovaks could never see eye to eye with the policies of Edward Beneš and his people and we rejected their system as a matter of principle, because our views of the Soviet Union and communism clashed with theirs. It is a matter of historical record that the Slovaks are fighting communism and communists for over a 100 years. An abyss separated and still separates us as far as viewpoints on the Soviet Union and communism are concerned.

And we admit that we did not expect to see these Czech political heroes of Edward Beneš's system in the political arena again. When they did get into it, we did not reckon that they would meddle in the questions that vitally effect the present and future of the Slovak nation. From our hearts we wish that the Lord God give the Czech nation good and honorable fighters against communism, that He endow it with discerning political leaders, who will lead it along the right path. But if the Czech nation is satisfied with the people, who so impressively taught them to love the Soviet Union, well there is nothing we can do about it, because we do not want to meddle in fundamental questions that concern the present and future of the Czech nation. That is, after all, the law of democracy.

But frankly and in the interest of truth, we must again recall to the rightists and to the leftists that we do not wish the noble, heroic and uncompromising struggle of the Slovak nation against communism to be connected with them at any time or any place. We Slovaks cannot and do not want to degrade our anti-communist stand to the level of these people, no matter what the price. The Slovak nation is suffering the consequences of the brutal communist reality which the political system, represented by these people, has hung on their necks.

* They are the expression of a certain morality which does not suffice for the moral needs of the present serious period and so much less suits the spiritual and character disposition of the Slovak nation. Their personal acquaintances and friendships could open for them

the doors of political asylum. Out of the magnanimity of these acquaintances and friendships they could be assured ministerial pensions for life. That is a question of philanthropy and of private relations. But a responsible and serious comprehension of the anti-communist stand, organizations of anti-communist propaganda and the psychological preparation of anti-communist resistance, exclude any purpose to use them as an exclusive and official argument against communism. It would be tragic, indeed, if in the historic evaluation of forces between Christianity and democracy, on the one hand, and communism on the other, there would not be available other moral and politically more valuable personalities.

The Slovak nation wants to wage its anti-communist fight to final victory. And it is convinced that the whole free and democratic world also wants to finish this fight. The Slovak nation, therefore, rightfully expects that its uncompromising fight against communistic and every other kind of slavery deserves recognition and political and moral appreciation. The Slovak nation, therefore, is not dependent on the anti-communist substitute, composed of personal and political values which irretrievably belong to the past and to political asylum. We can get to the soul of every nation only by means of uprightness and a genuine recognition of moral and political responsibility.

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WHAT THEY SAID ABOUT TISO

"Dr. Tiso died a hero. The Nuremberg criminals died as criminals, regretting their crimes. Dr. Tiso had nothing to regret. Even in the packed court, organized against him by communist hatred, witness followed witness testifying in Tiso's interest. A criminal was never loved. Dr. Tiso was loved by his people as no other man was ever loved in Slovakia. He was not a criminal. Even the sadistic 'National' Court recommended mercy for Tiso. So did the Slovak 'National' Council. Tiso's life depended only on one man; his life was in the hands of Dr. Beneš... the 'humanist' and that 'great democrat'... who is reportedly a candidate for the Nobel Peace Prize. Beneš can now rest satisfied; he wanted blood and he got it. When Dr. Beneš refused Tiso's plea for mercy he became Tiso's judge and murderer. The blood of Tiso remains on his hands." — Ján Petrovič, Bratislava, Slovakia, April 1947.

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"The execution of Monsignor Tiso shall go down in history as a great crime against the entire Slovak nation. His tragic death was a political murder for which the present communist-dominated regime in Czechoslovakia is wholly responsible. But the memory of the Slovak Republic's war-time president is forever enshrined in the hearts of his countrymen for he was truly the Father of his Country." — Teachers of Slovak and Slovak History at Benedictine High School, Cleveland, Ohio.

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"Czech and Slovak Communists demanded Dr. Tiso's head, and Dr. Edward Beneš obliged. It was plainly premeditated murder." — Philip James Anthony. "Jedonta" Feature Writer.

THE BLIND ALLEY OF THE CZECHOSLOVAKS

BY: THE INFORMER

The leading personalities of the Council of Free Czechoslovakia in Canada had a special meeting last October in Toronto. The session concerned itself with three burning questions:

1. American semi-official places and factors of the National Committee for a Free Europe have again threatened to shut off all moral and financial aid if the feuding Czechoslovaks, i. e. the so-called "seventeen" members of Dr. Osuský and the "thirteen" of Dr. Zenkl, do not find a common platform of cooperation and, as far as possible, a broader and a more effective Slovak representation in this framework. It was decided that the Toronto branch would appeal to the leading personalities of the Council in the USA to issue a joint manifesto with the Zenkl group on October 28, the Czechoslovak Independence Day. In a word: another maneuver to deceive the Americans who give them bread. (As far as is known, no joint manifesto was issued on October 28th.)

2. Czechoslovak leaders of both factions were also told that the U. S. factors concerned would welcome a move by them to find a platform for coming to an understanding with the Sudeten Germans. This is all the more necessary, because the Allies are ready to sign a separate peace with Western Germany and accept it into the allied defense alliance. This point caused those present, especially the Czech members, to quiver. And they have reason to tremble. The Sudeten Germans will remember for a long time who expelled them from their ancient homeland. And the Beneš Czechs know that a strong group of anti-Beneš Czechs, their adversaries, have already come to an understanding with the Sudeten Germans, signing an agreement of friendship with them, subject to certain conditions which are not acceptable to the Beneš Czechs. And even if the latter would promise to right the devastating damage and injustice done to the Sudeten Germans, it would avail them nothing, because the Germans know that the Beneš Czechs, together with the Czech Reds, are responsible for their expulsion from the Sudetenland of Bohemia.

3. The National Committee for a Free Europe has been severely criticized for the type of its "Free Czechoslovakia" broadcasts in Munich. Protests against the strictly "pro-Czech" stand of the Munich Radio Free Europe have come from the Bavarian Federal Government, the German Government in Bonn, the anti-Beneš groups in Europe, England and the USA, and representatives of the overwhelming majority of Slovaks in Europe, England, France, Spain, Italy, Belgium, Canada and the USA.

The Beneš Czechoslovaks are aware of all this, hence their dilemma. Their Czechoslovak ship is sinking and they are exerting all their strength to save it. Peroutka, supposedly the director of the "Czechoslovak Unit" of RFE, of late is not as wild as he used to be. He was told to tone down a bit and replace several people in the Czechoslovak Unit of the NCFE broadcasts — at least those who are overly burdened with communist collaboration. Of course, Peroutka

will see to it that Beneš Czechoslovaks are replaced only by Beneš Czechoslovaks!

Summarily said, there is nothing new in the Czechoslovak sky. We are not at all surprised by the behavior of the hard-boiled adherents of Czechoslovak centralism. But we are very much surprised with the Slovak servants rendering them lip service. Rudolph Fraštacký, a Beneš Czechoslovak, recently returned from a European trip and told friends that among the most recent Slovak escapees he did not find a single one who stands for Czechoslovakism. Since these latest escapees interpret the sentiments of the Slovaks at home, we can safely say that in Slovakia, regardless of their religious or previous political divisions, the Slovaks almost to a man are against the restoration of Czechoslovakia.

The Czechoslovaks are in a blind alley, because they did not believe in signs of the times. Freedom is the watchword, the everlasting hope and the ultimate goal of all nations of the earth — including the Slovak nation.

FOR DR. STEPHEN OSUSKY'S BENEFIT

DR. PETER SKALENICKÝ

The more new refugees arrive from Slovakia, so all the more and repeatedly do they confirm the fact that our policy, based in our stand of Slovak independence, is correct. Even these new escapees, often former adherents of former Czechoslovak political parties, confirm the fact that the Slovak nation not only yearns for its own independence, but also that in Slovakia today no one believes that it will be possible to renew the Czechoslovak Republic. Nay, the people at home do not believe that responsible people in exile can be found who would work against Slovak independence. It is something natural. Certainly, a nation which once has had its own state and has tasted of the advantages of its own independence will never surrender it, and it can be deprived of it only by force and violence.

We can look upon the origin of the Slovak Republic in any manner that we will, but no one can deny, nor can any one erase from Slovak history the actuality that the Slovaks did have their own state from 1939 to 1945, that they did have their own president and their own government, and that Slovakia did appear on the map of Europe as an independent political unit.

It is often said that the Slovak Republic was a satellite state. Even under such circumstances, it was comparatively more than the Slovaks had during the first Czechoslovak Republic, or after 1945. The president of Slovakia and the government always had more power than the president of the Slovak National Council (Lettrich) and the commissars had after 1945, that is during the period when the Czechoslovak Republic was already supposed to be a federative state. And even though the duration of the Slovak State falls into the period of war, Swiss newsmen told the world that the Slovak Republic was an oasis of consolidated peace and welfare. That was because the Slovaks decided their own affairs in their country. The president of the Slovak Republic could grant reprieves to those sen-

tenced to death; and he granted it in all cases. It serves and it shall continue to serve to the honor of the Slovak President and the Slovak Republic for all times that during its duration no one was executed in Slovakia by Slovak authorities.

But what can be said about the period after 1945? Let us take a concrete case, that of Dr. Joseph Tiso, President of Slovakia. The Slovak Democratic Party, supported by the Catholics in the 1946 elections because they believed that, among other things, it would prevent the execution of the Slovak President, did not even have the power to save his life. Even in that case it was Beneš who had to decide, and decide he did — as he always had done before — against Slovakia, on the recommendation of the Czech ministers who again wanted to come to Slovakia as liberators.

The period from the Banská Bystrica insurrection (August 1944) is and shall remain a sad chapter in Slovak history. This debacle is the joint property of the Communists and the Lettrich Democrats. In the name of the revolution against Nazism they liquidated Slovak independence; in the name of democracy they vied with each other in attesting loyalty to Stalin and the Soviet Union; and in the name of humanity they built gallows.

Today the communists in Czechoslovakia celebrate this revolution not because it was democratic, but because it was communistic. It is well, however, that the Lettrichites, too, without reservations claimed and still claim it as their own, because thereby before history they assume the responsibility for the liquidation of Slovak independence, for the mass graves with hundreds of corpses, for the bloody verdicts of the People's Courts, for the thousands of citizens who languished in jails for long months, nay even years, without being given a hearing or a trial, for the torture-chambers of the STB (Security Police), for confiscating the property of persons who were not even given a trial in Court, for the arbitrary looting of churches and schools, for the revengeful police investigations and terror in the whole nation. Those are the marks of the politics of the people's-democratic rulers of Slovakia, the symbols of the freedom of the gallows according to which Slovak and world history shall know them. The politician might, perhaps, pass over these matters with a heavy sigh in the interest of some agreement, the judge, however, must call a crime a crime, and the historian must record facts on the pages of history.

Today Slovakia has new generations, trained in the spirit of independence — generations who are suffering in jails and concentration camps at home. Many of them already have fallen, but from their blood is born a new force and a new determination for those living who shall never desert their nation and shall never surrender the right to their own independence. And abroad, in emigration, Slovakia has hundreds of young people who studied there and thousands of others who are going through the valuable school of life. Let them be wheresoever they may, they shall never surrender the right to Slovak independence. During twenty years of the Czechoslovak Republic, Slovaks only in isolated cases could go abroad to study. Today the people's-democratic regime has afforded them this advantage: they had to flee their homeland before its terror. And the

ideals, the bearers of which are especially these young generations, prove to us clearly that this is the chain of natural evolution of Slovak revolutionary efforts from the time of Štúr down to our present times. We know that Louis Štúr proclaimed Slovak independence already in 1848. The Slovak parliament only sanctioned this revolutionary act of Štúr's in 1939 and thus realized what Štúr's generation did not have enough strength to effect.

We are often mistaken by the outside imperialistic pressure which hastened the political development of Slovakia. This, however, cannot be taken as a denial of the matter. If that were so, then the nation at home would not yearn for, and the overwhelming majority of Slovak exiles would not work for, Slovak independence. Every nation has a natural ambition to create its own history in its own state and, represented by its own state, as an independent factor it wants to contribute to the increase of the cultural values of all humanity. The Slovaks demand their independence because they are a nation with their own history, language and culture, and because they are commanded to do so by charity to themselves and by a healthy mind. Why there is not a single nation in the world that would not want to be independent. Enslavement of one's own nation can be the desire of vengeful, self-seeking, mentally warped and confused individuals. Let us look upon the matter from whatever standpoint, Czechoslovakism is and shall always remain an expression of national and personal inferiority.

Let it not be a surprise, then, if we turn our attention today to Dr. Stephen Osuský, the foremost Slovak among a very small group of people who still hold to the Czechoslovak conception. We do that because we want to believe that Mr. Osuský will not lend his name to impede the efforts of the Slovak nation. For some time now we are getting reports that the political group of Dr. Lettrich wants to solve the present crisis of the Czechoslovak foreign resistance with the aid of the person of Dr. Osuský, who is supposed to become president of the Council of Free Czechoslovakia.

Dr. Osuský is not familiar with the Slovak political situation at home, because he has been away from Slovakia for many years. And yet some people, who have become accustomed to serve the Czechs in the interest of their personal careers, want to use Dr. Osuský to deceive the western world by claiming that Slovaks are for the Czechoslovak Republic. These people have already gone so far as to plan a Czecho-Slovak federation with Dr. Stephen Osuský as its first president. They want to exploit the situation, because they are reckoning with a strong pressure on Czech exiled factors on account of the problem of the Sudeten Germans which especially today, when negotiations are in progress to conclude a peace treaty with western Germany, is gaining political importance. It is believed that Germany, as an important factor of international politics which shall have extraordinary significance for the defense of Europe, shall insist on the exclusion from the exiled governments, which shall arise in time, of all those who willingly cooperated with Moscow, who with their policies led their nations into the present situation and are also responsible for the brutal expulsion of millions of Germans from their ancient homelands.

This concerns especially the Czech politicians in exile, who are the bearers of Beneš's old policy, which always was pro-Soviet and as such evoked many political contentions and differences in Europe. The Germans may not want to intervene in the political affairs of central European nations, but it is natural that they will want to have the nationality questions in this sector solved at last to the full satisfaction of the individual nations. And Germany, as an important European factor, has the full right to present these questions to the international forum.

Such a development is undoubtedly presupposed even by some people of Lettrich's faction who want to get something for themselves out of the situation, and Dr. Osuský is supposed to help them in this. The representatives of several families, realizing their weakness in the nation, still want to take possession of Slovakia so that they could gain rule there with the help of the Czechs. Once in power, they figure that they will be able to proclaim the representatives of the idea of Slovak independence as enemies of the Czechoslovak Republic and so prevent their return to Slovakia so they themselves might rule without opposition. But these gentlemen are grossly mistaken. The idea of Slovak independence cannot be killed and silenced even by the liquidation of the representatives of Slovak independence. They still can mislead and deceive the western world for a time, but they cannot deceive the Slovak nation any more.

If Dr. Osuský wants to have a correct appraisal about the mind of the Slovak nation, let him come to the meetings of Slovak emigrants in Canada or in the USA, or let him visit the European DP camps. This policy of Lettrich's people, alas, cannot be called anything but blind. Are these people really so non-critical that they cannot see their own mistakes and errors? It seems that morality and responsibility have been excluded completely from their policy.

People who created or helped to prepare the bloodiest regime in our history, do such people want to return again as liberators? Their conscience is probably so dead to the reproaches and crimes which the nation shall one time put before them because they are concerned only with their careers and the regaining of their lost properties. Or do they think that their crimes shall not be subject to criticism and judgment? Where crimes have been committed, there must be sought the criminal. The people who conducted the politics of the Slovak Republic were placed on trial by them after 1945, and they certainly did not cause the nation any such suffering as it is going through since 1945. To give these people to the nation as liberators would be as paradoxical as if, after convicting the innocent Rudolph Beran, Beneš would have become the leader of the Czech Agrarian Party.

These are weighty facts, and very weighty from the standpoint of history and politics. We present them to Dr. Osuský to consider whether he wants to identify himself with Lettrich's politics and represent his followers before the world and the nation. It depends entirely on him whether he shall succumb to these people or whether he shall let the decision in his own hands. We remind that Slovak history is being made even in emigration. And there are only two possibilities: on the side of Štúr and Hlinka, that is on the side of those who believed in the independent future of the Slovak nation,

or on the opposite side — on the side of the enemies of Slovak independence. To deny a nation its right to independence means to deny it even the right of individuality. It's something like when Lettrich and Slávik speak about democracy, but protest that an opportunity be given the Slovaks to decide by a democratic expression of will whether they want to live in their own state or with the Czechs in a Czechoslovak Republic. It is clear proof that they fear the will of the nation and want to force their own conception on the nation. Woe, however, to the politician, who is afraid of the expression of his own nation!

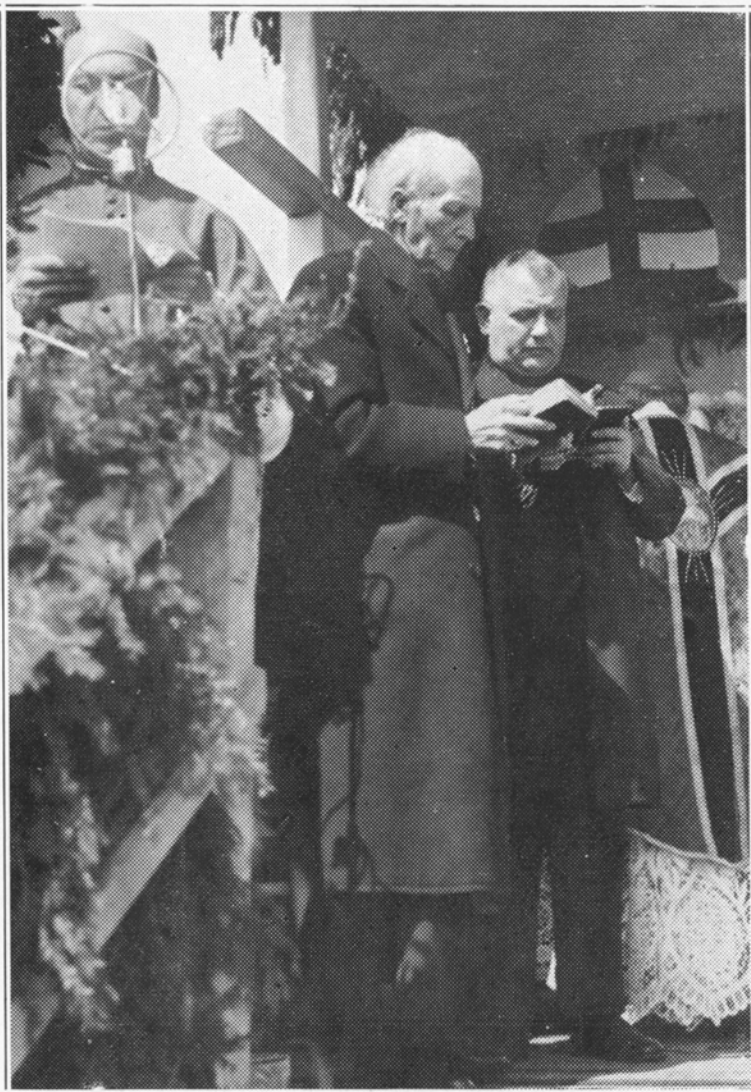
The Czechoslovaks often say wishfully that the West will not recognize the right of the Slovaks to independence. To this we can only remark that here the wish is the father of the thought. If all Slovaks today would stand on the correct Slovak side and not in the services of aliens, this silly question would not have to be brought up at all, because Slovak independence is above all else a matter of life and death with the Slovaks. The Slovaks do not threaten any one with it; and it is not an expression of some form of imperialism, but an expression of natural right. And the Slovaks shall see this right recognized and respected just because it is natural and democratic and is, therefore in line with the principles expressed in the Atlantic Charter by President Roosevelt and Winston Churchill, as well as in the interest of a united Europe, where every nation, large and small, is supposed to be united into a European association as an independent unit. Only a policy which will guarantee all nations equal freedom shall bring Europe the long awaited just and lasting peace and welfare.

The Slovaks attained autonomy October 6, 1938, without the help of people of the Lettrich type and just so will they attain even the renewal of their democratic independence. We are thinking realistically and we are aware of the fact that we are a small nation. But even a small nation has a right to live and to live in such an arrangement which best serves its interests. In 1918 we said that our Magyar marriage was unsuccessful and we had to part; and in 1938 we said the same thing about our Czechoslovak marriage. What was natural always prevailed. A natural right by which we want to convince the world about the thinking of the Slovaks is also the plebiscite. Slávik and Lettrich are against a plebiscite, that is against the democratic right of the Slovaks to determine their own future. It now depends on Dr. Stephen Osuský whether he shall join the one or the other side. The Slovaks shall reach their goal, but it depends on Dr. Osuský whether they shall do so with his help or without it.

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WHO SAID IT?

WHO SAID IT? — "No political party in Slovakia has taken as sharp a stand against bolshevism as our party. We are convinced that the anti-communist movement must be supported by the whole of Europe, the entire cultural and Christian world. At the time the Red Army invaded Poland, we defended the idea that Czechoslovakia must hurry to help the Poles with weapons in hand and fight against bolshevism." — (Andrew Hlinka, SLOVÁK, 11-18-30).



Monsignor Dr. Joseph Tiso (right) with the beloved Monsignor Andrew Hlinka, champion of Slovak freedom, and Monsignor Dr. Charles Körper (left) in Bratislava, Slovakia, June 5, 1938, on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the Pittsburgh Pact.



DR. JOSEPH TISO

National Hero of the Slovak Nation